i. Ohr
2,25
1920
1804
T16

ن. ٦٨٤

2 vols in 3
Cond. not-D
175[00]

THE

HISTORY OF THE WARS

WHICH AROSE OUT OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A REVIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THAT EVENT.

BY ALEXANDER STEPHENS,

OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.

——— statui res gestas populi Romani strictim, uti quæqe memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ animus liber erat. SAL. *de conjurat. Catil.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN BIOREN, AND THOMAS L. PLOWMAN.

1804.

PREFACE.

THE epoch of the French Revolution, and the wars to which that celebrated event gave rise, almost justify the assertion, that the annals of mankind contain little more than a record of their crimes and calamities.

At no period either in ancient or in modern times have the revered names of religion, liberty, and social order, been so frequently invoked or so audaciously prostituted; and it is to be feared, that the civil rights of individuals, as well as that system of public morals called the law of nations, have received a deep and incurable wound.

But, on the other hand, it is a series of singular, magnificent, and disastrous events, like that just alluded to, which affords suitable imagery for narrative, and constitutes at once the miseries of society and the materials for history. He who is destined to detail recent transactions, if actuated by the spirit of truth and independence, will have to recapitulate such a multitude of enormities, that the reigns of Nero and Domitian must appear less intolerable from comparison. The murder of prisoners in open day; the public detention and assassination of ambassadors; the uncontrouled

reign of that panic terror which appalled the innocent, and not unfrequently spared the guilty; the triumph of men of blood over the public enemy as well as the most virtuous of their fellow citizens; one faction swallowing up another, while the instrument of destruction was stretched forth, and the tomb yawned, for the victors; a frantic populace dividing the palpitating members of their victims, and a King coolly murdering those subjects who had yielded to the faith of a solemn treaty; the torture, at once the mark of a barbarous age and the opprobrium of a civilised one, publicly inflicted; while, as if to form a climax and realise the metaphor of the ancient poets, the dogs of war were literally unchained, and the canine race employed to hunt down the human species;——such is the galaxy of crimes presented during this night of wonders.

Yet, notwithstanding these hideous pictures, Europe has displayed many uncommon instances of heroism, and some scenes have occurred in a neighbouring country, which surpass all that is to be found during the boasted reigns of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonines. Never did any nation exhibit such magnanimity, when threatened with subjugation, slavery, and dismemberment, on the part of the combined monarchs of the continent. Never did so many orators, philosophers, men of letters, and statesmen, evince such a perilous and deadly enmity to anarchy, injustice, and bloodshed; or prefer with so much readiness the uplifted axe of the executioner to the scorn of their contemporaries and the reproaches of posterity. Even the softer sex, assuming a masculine courage, maintained their principles on the

scaffold, and perished without a sigh before the statue of outraged liberty.

The art of war too, during this memorable period, has been carried to a greater degree of perfection than in any former age; and the young tacticians of the new school have overcome generals grown hoary under arms. The machinery of battles has been calculated on a more gigantic scale; fleets have not only fought with greater fierceness, but exhibited evolutions hitherto unknown or unpractised; a single army sometimes extended its wings from the frontiers of France to the heart of Italy, while at other periods, one immense line of soldiers has occupied the intervening countries from the banks of the Rhine to the shores of the Adriatic.

The sciences, also, have on this occasion followed in the train of Mars, and the fate of kingdoms appears to have been not unfrequently decided by their influence. In consequence of the introduction of one instrument, intelligence has not only been communicated with a degree of celerity nearly equal to that of sound, but with all the exactitude of literary communication; while another, until lately considered as a toy, has been rendered subservient, on one occasion at least, to the attainment of victory.

It is evident, therefore, that the field for the annalist is spacious: instead of a deficiency, there is a superabundance of materials: selection, rather than amplification, is required upon this occasion, and it becomes necessary to vary by means of episodes the sickening detail of unavailing crimes, and the languid pauses occasioned by interminable slaughter.

WHILE recording the transactions of so long and so variegated a war, I have endeavoured to divest my mind of national prejudices, and wished to do ample justice to the exploits of foes as well as of allies; but I have in no case omitted to celebrate the naval and military achievements of a people, who, after maintaining the glory of their flag on every sea, and proving victorious in every general engagement, completed the triumph of their arms by the conquest of Egypt.

The introduction, which was written upwards of nine months since, contains a rapid sketch of an interesting period, as it was deemed necessary to prefix an account of the leading causes of the French revolution, to the narrative of the wars which arose out of that event.

Upon the present occasion I have been furnished with abundance of information, and have no-where applied in vain; even those with whom I had not always the happiness exactly to agree in respect to opinions, have favoured me with hints, observations, and remarks. From a nobleman who lately occupied a high situation in the government of this country, I was honoured with an important communication relative to a subject that excited the indignation of France, and occupied the curiosity of Europe, at the beginning of the late war; I have also enjoyed the satisfaction of acquiring information at the fountain-head, and chiefs who have fought and gained the battles of their country have not disdained to read and to correct my account of them.

As the cessation from war precludes the necessity of secrecy, some important documents have been occasionally introduced, and I have readily inserted an original letter from the late grand-master of Malta, just communicated to me by his nephew, a major-general in the service of Great Britain.

In the Appendix, among other papers necessary for the elucidation of the work, will be found a journal of the action of the first of June, which ushered in so many naval victories; it was drawn up by an officer, who from position as well as situation was enabled to convey a correct account of that engagement, and had been formerly seen and approved of by the veteran admiral who commanded on that memorable day.

CHELSEA-PARK LODGE,
MIDDLESEX,
May 1, 1803.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

REVOLUTIONS in Europe and America.—p. i.

SECTION I.

Conquests and jurisprudence of the Romans. The triumph of the barbarians, and origin of the feudal system. Excellence and defects of this form of government. Miseries and bondage of the people. The scallag of the Hebrides, and slave of the West-Indies.—p. iv.

SECTION II.

Changes effected: 1, by commerce. 2, by the disputes between the kings and the barons. 3, by the creation of courts of appeal. 4, by the crusades. 5, by prohibiting tilts and tournaments. 6, by the spirit of the feudal institutions. 7, by the charters granted to towns, &c. and 8, by representation. Kings jealous of the growing influence of the people. Triumph of bigotry and oppression. Great change effected.—p. ix.

SECTION III.

Of the Franks. Their love of freedom. Their institutions favourable to liberty. The kings become legislators. The crown ceases to be elective. Origin of hereditary nobility, and nobility by patent. History of the states-general. Assembly of notables. Origin of despotism and standing armies in France. Progress of tyranny. Courage of the commons.—And suspension of the states-general. Tyranny of Richlieu and Mazarine.—p. xiii.

SECTION IV.

Accession of Louis XVI. Expectations of the nation. Maurepas prime-minister. Turgot. De vergennes, De Sartine, and Necker, ministers. Consequences of the American war. Necker exiled for the first time. De Calonne. First convocation of the notables in this reign, 22d Feb. 1787. Disgrace of Calonne. Cardinal Leomine de Brienne. Conduct of the parliament. Despotism of the court. Resistance of the provincial parliaments. Fresh

disputes with the parliament. Remonstrance of the first prince of the blood. Cour pleniére. Commotions in the provinces and defection of the troops. Disgrace of the ministers. Return of Necker. New convocation of notables. Plan of the third-estate. —p. xxiii.

SECTION V.

The revolution originated: 1, in the natural progress of the human mind. 2, in the extension of letters and philosophy.—By the writings of Montesquieu, Raynal, Voltaire.—Bailly, Buffon, Condorcet.—Diderot and d'Alembert, Turgot—Necker, and even Calonne. 3, in the disorder of the finances. 4, the zeal of the parliaments. 5, the example of England and America. 6, the defection of the army. 7, the inherent love of freedom. 8, the warlike genius of the nation. 9, the state of the court. 10, the personal character of the king and queen. 11, the conduct of the princes. 12, the abuses and tyranny of the government. 13, the injustice of the nobles. 14, the degeneracy of the dignified clergy. 15, the injustice of the prelates. 16, the republican education of all. 17, the outcry against abuses. 18, the influence and population of the capital. 19, the injustice of the government. 20, Bastille and lettres de cachet. 21, the excessive taxes. 22, the exemptions claimed by the privileged orders.—And 23, the feudal rigours. Summary of grievances.—p. xxxviii.

SECTION VI.

Assembly of the states-general. Speech of the king.—Of the keeper of the seals, and the comptroller-general. Proceedings of the third-estate. Disputes between the orders. Third-estate becomes the national assembly. Bailly, first president. Popular acts. Proceedings of the clergy and nobles.—And king. National assembly meets in a tennis-court.—Their oath. Junction of the majority of the clergy. Royal session. Firmness of the assembly. Union of all the orders. Conspiracy against the assembly. Defection of the French guards. Foreign regiments collected at Versailles. Necker banished a second time. Conduct of the Parisians. Skirmishes in the capital. Origin of the national guards. They obtain arms.—They march against, and take the Bastille. Fury of the populace. Foreign troops ordered to withdraw.—p. liv.

SECTION VII.

Terror of the courtiers. Emigration of the grandees. Necker recalled. Declaration of Rights. Distracted state of France. Abolition of the feudal system. Sacrifices on the part of the clergy and nobility. New loans and patriotic donations. New constitution. Letter from the king. The regiment of Flanders called in. Banquet in the castle of Versailles. Threat of Mirabeau. The Parisians march to Versailles and return with the Royal Family. New constitution. Estates of the clergy. Origin of assignats. King's

sanction to the new constitution. Popular proceedings of the assembly. Abolition of nobility. Confederation at the Champ de Mars. Disturbances in St. Domingo.—In France. Discontents of the nobility and clergy. Effect of these. Conduct of the king. Flight of the Royal Family. They are arrested at Varennes.—And brought back to Paris. Escape of Monsieur. Royal family enter Paris. Acceptance of the constitution. Dissolution of the first assembly Its character and orators.—Garat, Rabaut, Sieyes, Mounier, Malouet, Thouret.—Gregoire, Talleyrand, Lally-Tolendal, Barnave, Maury.—Mirabeau. Convocation of the second assembly. Commotions at Avignon. The emigrations increase. The king exercises his veto.—p. lxxv.

SECTION VIII.

State of parties.—Of the press. Jacobins—Their leading members. Feuillans. Character of the second assembly. Its members. New administration. Character of its members.—Dumouriez.—Lacoste, Duranton, Claviere, Degrave.—Roland. Proceedings of the cabinet.—p. c.

SECTION IX.

State of Europe.—Spain.—Portugal: Sardinia: Rome.—Naples: Great-Britain.—Denmark: Sweden; character of the king.—Russia. Combination against France.—House of Brandenburgh.—Austria. Treaty of Pilnitz. Prussia at the head of the league. Strength of France.—Territories; Population; Boundaries.—Revenue; Army; Navy; Public debt. Leagues not formidable. Insecurity of the constitution. Hostility of the nobles. Negociations with Austria; and categorical demands of that court. Wish for war.—p. cxviii.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Declaration of War—Campaign of 1792*—Invasion of the Austrian Low-countries—Defeat and shameful Conduct of the French—Disputes in the Cabinet—Situation of the King.*

Page 1

Deliberations concerning the campaign. The king recommends war. Address of the cabinet. Aggressions against France. Decree of war. Preparations for war. Conduct of the assembly. State of the armies. Situation of the Austrian Netherlands. Plans of the campaign. First invasion of the Netherlands. Disgraceful retreat. Complaints of the generals. Disputes in the cabinet. Dismission of the popular ministers. Second invasion of the Ne-

therlands. Second retreat. Commotion in the capital; the mob repairs to the palace. State of parties.

CHAP. II.

Declaration of War by the Court of Brussels—Manifestoes of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick, and the French Princes—Preparations for opening the Campaign. *p.* 23

Declaration of war against France. Austrian manifesto. Prussian manifesto. Situation of France favourable to the views of the allied courts. Progress of the Prussians. Duke of Brunswick's manifesto. Second manifesto. These declarations serviceable to France. Joint declaration of the allied courts. Declaration of the French princes. Frederick-William proclaimed head of the league. He arrives at the head-quarters of, and reviews the troops. Plan of the Campaign.

CHAP. III.

Insurrection of the 10th of August—Character and Views of the Leaders—Suspension of the King's Authority—Election of a National Convention—Conduct of the Armies and the Generals—Dumouriez is promoted to the chief Command—Flight of La Fayette. *p.* 36

Critical situation of Louis XVI. and of the state. Insurrection against the throne. A leader chosen. Preparations for the attack. Situation of the palace. Conduct of the Jacobins. Siege of the castle. Decree for electing a national convention, and suspending the king. Proceeding of the Parisians.—of the assembly. Conduct of La Fayette—Luckner—Dillon—and Dumouriez. Dumouriez promoted to the chief command. His conduct upon this occasion. La Fayette is abandoned by his army—and leaves France.

CHAP. IV.

State of Parties in the Capital—Conduct of the Jacobins—Alarm of the Executive Council—Behaviour of Danton. *p.* 62

Vigorous conduct of the Jacobins. Terror of the ministers. Conduct of Danton.

CHAP. V.

The Prussians enter France—Surrender of Longwy and Verdun—State of the French Army—Dumouriez calls a council of War—Takes Post in the forest of Argonne. *p.* 69

The grand army commences its march—and enters France. Surrender of Longwy—and Verdun. Conduct of Dumouriez. State of the army. Council of war. Result of its deliberations. Dumouriez determines to occupy the forest of Argonne. March of the French. Description of the new camp.

CHAP. VI.

Camp at Grandprey—Gallantry of Colonel Laharpe—Situation of the rival Armies—Dumouriez retreats from the Forest of Argonne—Terror and confusion during the March—The French occupy the Camp of St. Menehould—Siege of Thionville. *p.* 85

Disposition of the army. Gallant conduct of a Swiss colonel. Preparations made by Dumouriez. His plan of defence. Proceedings of the two armies. Situation of the combined forces. Error committed by the French general. He is forced to retreat. Interview with a Prussian officer. The French army commences its retreat. Assumes a new position. Siege of Thionville.

CHAP. VII.

Kellerman and Beurnonville effect a Junction with Dumouriez—Approach of the Combined Army—Skirmish at Valmy—The Consequences resulting from this indecisive Action. *p.*102

Description of the new camp. Punishment of the late fugitives. The combined army advances in pursuit of the French. Action at Valmy. Situation of the two armies. Effects of the skirmish at Valmy.

CHAP. VIII.

Conduct of Dumouriez—France is declared a Republic—Arrival of the Deputies in the French Camp—The Soldiers take the new Oath. *p.* 109

Situation in the armies. Conduct of the French general. France declared a republic. Arrival of three deputies, who administer the new oath.

CHAP. IX.

Interview between Dumouriez and Colonel Manstein—Agreement for an Exchange of Prisoners—The Emigrants are excepted—The King of Prussia assembles a Council of War—Preparations for a decisive Battle—His Majesty determines to retreat—Conduct of the French Nobility—Sufferings of the Prussians—Reflections. *p.* 115

Armistice. Policy of the French general. Second interview with Manstein. Negociations. Proceedings of a council of war. Plan of the intended battle. Conduct of the emigrants. Retreat of the combined forces. Sufferings of the Prussian troops. Reflections on the campaign.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The French determine to penetrate into Germany—Capture of Worms, Mentz and Francfort—Incursions into the Dominions of the Prince of Hesse. p. 137

Power of France. Plans of retaliation. Irruption into Germany. Capture of Spire. Conduct of the French soldiers—punishment inflicted by order of the general. Capture of Worms, Mentz, and Francfort. Military contributions. Advantages accruing to France. Conduct of Custine. Fresh incursions. Conduct of the Landgrave of Hesse.

CHAP. II.

Invasion of Savoy—Capture of Chamberri—Conduct and Situation of General Montesquiou—Anselme takes possession of Nice and Montalbin—The Victories of the Republic are celebrated at Paris. p. 147

New projects of retaliation. House of Savoy. Character of the late king. Conduct of Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont—of the court of Sardinia. Situation of the duchy of Savoy. Complaints on the part of France. Plan of the campaign. Montesquiou is denounced. He enters Savoy. Disputes Relative to Genoa. A new decree against Montesquiou. Progress of general Anselme. He is sent prisoner to Paris. Festival for the conquest of Savoy. Critical Situation of the king of Sardinia.

CHAP. III.

France makes great preparations and levies immense Armies—Invasion of Flanders by the Duke of Saxe-Teschen—Siege of Lisle—The Austrians retire on the Approach of the Army of Champagne—Beurnonville's Expedition against Treves. p. 159

Disposition of the French armies. Dumouriez repairs to the capital. Invasion of French Flanders. Siege of Lisle. Expedition under Beurnonville.

CHAP. IV.

Preparations for invading Austrian Flanders—Skirmishes between the Imperialists and French—Battle of Gemappe. p. 165

Preparations on the part of Dumouriez. Situation of the Austrians. Battle of Gemappe.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. V.

The French proceed in their victorious Career, and take possession of Mons, Brussels, Liege, Antwerp, and Namur—Skirmishes at Anderlecht and Cumptich—Dumouriez becomes suspected. p. 174

Flight and declarations of the archduchess Mary. The French enter Brussels. Action at Cumptich. Dumouriez is suspected by the jacobins. The French obtain possession of Liege, Antwerp, Louvain, and Namur.

CHAP. VI.

The people of Liege receive the French as their Deliverers—Ambitious Projects of Dumouriez—He marches against and defeats the Austrians—Places his Army in winter-quarters; after which he repairs to Paris—Critical Situation of Custine. p. 181

Plans and embarrassments of Dumouriez.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The Execution of Louis XVI. either the Cause or the pretext of a new War—Of the Situation of Holland and England anterior to that Epoch. p. 186

State of Holland. Of Great Britain—the ministry—and the alarmists.

CHAP. II.

The ruling Party in France averse to a War with the English—Chauvelin and Talleyrand sent over on Purpose to keep up a good Understanding between the two Nations—The King of Great Britain refuses his Meditation—Disputes relative to the opening of the Scheldt, and the new System of Fraternisation—Political Clubs and Societies—First Mission of Maret—Proceedings of the English Cabinet on receiving Intelligence of the Execution of Louis XVI.—Second Mission of Maret—Declaration of War—Both Governments culpable. page 194

Disposition of the French in respect to England. Return of the English ambassadour. Conduct of the French government—of the English government. The French minister remonstrates, and explains. Effect produced by the execution of the king. Preparations for war. Critical situation of the French. Propositions to avert war. Measures adopted on the part of the convention.

Decree of war against Great Britain and Holland. Counter-declaration on the part of England. Ostensible causes of the war; 1, relative to the Scheldt—2, the decree of fraternity—3, the recal of the English, and, 4, the expulsion of the French ambassador. Secret causes: 1, a wish to counteract the spirit of reform; and, 2, the dread lest the power of France should preponderate. Neither government wholly excusable. England the first to declare war. Prognostications relative to the consequences of the war.

CHAP. III.

Invasion of Holland by Dumouriez—Capture of Breda, Klundert, Gertruydenberg—Gallant Defence of Williamstadt—Arrival of a Body of Guards under the Duke of York—Progress of the Austrians—The French raise the Siege of Maestricht, and retreat on all sides. *p.* 208

French manifesto. The French army takes the field, and advances against Breda. Surrender of Breda—of Klundert—of Gertruydenberg. Siege and obstinate defence of Williamstadt. The Duke of York arrives at Helvoetsluys. Siege of Maestricht. Defeat of the French; who raise the siege. Dumouriez returns to Belgium. Retreat from Holland. Reflections. Army of Custine. Francfort retaken by the Prussians and Hessians.

CHAP. IV.

Conduct of Dumouriez on his Return to Belgium—Battle of Nerwinden—Secret Treaty with the Austrians—Retreat of the French Army—Arrest of the Deputies—Dumouriez, being abandoned by his Troops, takes Refuge within the Austrian Lines. *p.* 218

Battle of Nerwinden. Dumouriez is forced to retreat; first to Cumptich, next to Bautersem, and then to Louvain. Treachery of Dumouriez. Negociations between Dumouriez and the deputies. Dumouriez attempts to seduce his army. Conduct of the republicans. Schemes of Dumouriez. Arrest of the deputies. Flight of the French general.

CHAP. V.

Views of the Allies—Dampierre is appointed to succeed Dumouriez—Skirmishes at Famars, Quievrain, and St. Amand—The French are obliged to retreat—Surrender of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mentz. *p.* 229

Separate views of Austria and Prussia. Landau summoned to surrender. A new general appointed to the army of the north. Skirmishes at Famars, and Quievrain. Death of the French general The French are driven from the camp at Famars. Condé and Valenciennes invested Condé surrenders. The Austrians obtain possession of Valenciennes. Surrender of Mentz.

CHAP. VI.

A new League is formed against France—Conduct of the British Cabinet—Naval Campaign in the Channel—Capture of Tobago, Miquelon, St. Pierre, and Part of St. Domingo in the West, and Chandernagore, Carical, and Pondicherry, in the East Indies—Lord Hood is sent to the Mediterranean with a formidable Fleet. p. 230

Interested policy of Russia. Conduct of the courts of Naples—Madrid, and Lisbon—of the British cabinet. Operations of the Channel fleet. Capture of Tobago—St. Pierre, and Miquelon. Unsuccessful attempt in Martinico. Disputes in St. Domingo. The English obtain possession of Grand Anse, and Cape Nicholas Mole. Immense power of the East-India Company. All the French forts and factories surrender to the English.

CHAP. VII.

Disputes between the Girondists and the Jacobins—Insurrection of the Departments—Lyons and Marseilles declare against the Convention—Their Subjugation. p. 250

The departments arm against the Jacobins. Conduct of general Wimpffen. Skirmish at Vernon. Insurrections at Lyons, and Marseilles. Siege of Lyons. Cruelties exercised on the Lyonese.

CHAP. VIII.

The allied Courts agree to divide their forces—Melancholy State of France—Energy of the Jacobins—Houchard is appointed to the Command of the northern Army—The Duke of York makes an Attempt on Dunkirk, in which he is foiled—Action at Maubeuge—Capture of Quesnoy. p. 263

State of France. Conduct of the ruling party. Immense military force of France. Actions at Lincelles—Oost Capelle, &c. Siege of Dunkirk. Battle of Hondschoote—of Maubeuge.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The combined Fleets enter the Mediterranean—Lord Hood negociates with the disaffected Cities—Obtains Possession of Toulon—Siege of that important Place—Bonaparte appointed to the Command of the French Artillery—Evacuation of the Town and Harbour, after setting Fire to the Arsenal and several Ships of the Line. p. 273

The English admiral negociates with the inhabitants of Marseilles and Toulon—obtains possession of Toulon. Skirmishes be-

tween the French and the garrison. Toulon abandoned by the allies. Sir S. Smith attempts to burn the arsenal, &c.

CHAP. II.

Campaign on the Rhine—The Duke of Brunswick exhibits great Talents at Pirmasens—Landau invested and the Lines of Weissembourg carried by the Austrians—Actions at Haguenau, Brumpt, and Wauzenau—Fort Louis surrenders—Pichegru and Hoche at length change the Fortune of the Campaign.—War in La Vendée, and on the Frontiers of Spain and Italy. p. 288

Action at Pirmasens. Landau invested, and the Lines of Weissembourg carried. Actions at Haguenau, Brumpt, and Wauzenau. Surrender of Fort Louis. Victories of Pichegru and Hoche. War in La Vendée. War with Spain—and Sardinia.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1794—*The French reconquer Austrian Flanders.* p. 294

Policy of the king of Prussia. Conduct of the emperor—and of the French. Action at Landrecies. Investment of Landrecies. The French beaten under the walls of that town. Grand attack on the allies, from Treves to the sea. Surrender of Landrecies. Action at Tournay. Grand attack by the allies. Action at Turcoing. Grand attack by the French. Passage of the Sambre. Ypres taken. Capture of Charleroi. Battle of Fleurus. Proceedings of the British army. Expedition under lieutenant-general earl of Moira. Lord Moira joins the Duke of York. Action at Mons—at Soignes. The French enter Brussels.

CHAP. II.

The French obtain Possession of the Fortresses on the Northern Frontier, and drive the Austrians beyond the Rhine—Campaign of 1794-5 *in Holland.* p. 314

Recapture of Landrecies—Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé. Defeat of Clairfayt. Decisive attack on the Austrians—they are driven across the Rhine. Coblentz taken. Pichegru enters Holland. Capture of Sluys. Action at Boxtel. Investment of Bois-le-duc. Crevecœur taken. Surrender of Bois-le-duc. Action at Purlech. Capture of Venloo. Surrender of Maestricht. Siege Nimeguen—its surrender. The French determined to cross the Waal. Difficulties attendant on the invasion of Holland—partly removed by a frost similar to that of 1758. Resumption of Hostilities. Surrender of the isle of Bommel and Fort St. André.

CONTENTS.

Capture of Grave. The French army crosses the Waal. Flight of the prince of Orange. Surrender of Utrecht, Arnheim, and Gertruydenburgh. Pichegru enters Amsterdam.

CHAP. III.

Campaign of 1794 *on the Rhine.* *p.* 330

The French seize on Kaiserslautern, Spires, &c. They are beaten at the first of these places. Battle of Edikhoffen. The French attack the chain of posts occupied by the allies. They seize on Treves and the Palatinate. The Germanic body wishes for peace.

CHAP. IV.

Campaign of 1794 *in Spain and Italy—Progress of the War in La Vendée.* *p.* 334

War with Spain. Progress of the French armies in Piedmont. Capture of Oneglia. Mount Cenis in possession of the French. War of La Vendée.

CHAP. V.

Cruise of the Channel Fleet—Two indecisive Combats, followed by an important Victory obtained by Lord Howe on the first of June—Naval History. *p.* 338

Lord Howe sails from St. Helen's. Admiral Montague detached with a convoy. French fleet sails. First day's action. Second day's action. Junction of rear-admiral Neilly. Third action, June 1st. Grand fleet arrives. Second cruise of the grand fleet. Action off Guernsey. Loss of the Alexander, of 74 guns.

CHAP. VI.

Invasion and Conquest of Corsica. *p.* 356

Advantages to be derived from the possession of Corsica. Views of Paoli. Expedition against Corsica. Gallant defence of the tower of Mortella. Attack on Fornelli. Fiorenzo evacuated. Surrender of Bastia—of Calvi.

CHAP. VII.

Campaign in the West Indies—Reduction of Martinico, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Mariegalante, Deseada, and the Saints. *p.* 364

The fleet sails for the West-Indies. Expedition against Martinico—proceedings of the army—capture of Pigeon Island—of St. Pierre—attack on Bellegarde's camp—capture of Fort Louis—of Fort Bourbon. Conquest of St. Lucia. Capture of the Saints. Expedition against Guadaloupe—capture of Fleur d'Epée—of Palmiste—surrender of the island. Conduct of the British commanders in chief.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition under Victor Hughes—The French reconquer Guadaloupe—Campaign in St. Domingo. *p.* 379

Expedition under Victor Hughes. Its arrival at Guadaloupe. Pointe-à-Petre stormed. Operations of the British commander —attack on the town of Pointe-à-Petre. The English troops are forced to retreat. Extraordinary talents of the French commissioner. Progress of the French. Surrender of the camp at Berville. Fort Matilda evacuated. Unsuccessful attempts to corrupt Levaux—and Santhonax. Capture of Port-au-Prince. Loss of Leogane and Tiburon.

CHAP. IX.

Situation of France at this Period of the War. *p.* 392

Immense acquisitions of France. Effects produced by the French revolution. Domestic situation of England—characters of the ministers.

APPENDIX.

A. Elucidations of Introduction, page xlvii. - Page 397
B. Ditto page lii; history of the parliaments of France, 403
C. Note on reference in page cxviii. - - - - - 415
D. Treaties of Pavia, and Pilnitz, referred to in p. cxxvii, 415,416
E. Note on reference in page 24, - - - - - 418
F. Minutes of the operations of the fleet under lord Howe, between the 28th May and 2d June 1794, page 338, *ib.*
G. Designs of the French against the Bahama Islands in 1793, page 365, - - - - - - - 430

INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL societies, like the individuals who compose them, are subject to variation, decay, and dissolution: for the principles of change lurk in, and are equally interwoven with the texture and materials of both. During the lapse of the two last centuries, no great alteration had, however, taken place in the annals of what some have rather fancifully termed the European Commonwealth; but an important epoch hath at length intervened, and the fate of this favoured portion of the globe appears manifestly to have experienced a violent and portentous concussion.

IT must be at length frankly confessed, that the revolutions which occur in the history of great nations, are but seldom either sudden or unexpected; the germe, indeed, unfolds more or less gradually, according to circumstances, yet it is still in a state of progressive vegetation, and, however difficult the task may appear, is frequently detected by the curious and intelligent observer. Thus, while the croud was content to wait for, and follow the current of events, a few enlightened individuals were enabled to foresee and to predict two grand convulsions which have happened in our own time.

THAT which preceded the emancipation of an interesting portion of the new continent, has long ceased to puzzle and perplex; and it must now be acknowledged, that it was not productive of the great and fatal changes which were so fondly prognosticated. The parent state, instead of being involved in inevitable ruin, seemed immediately to acquire greater energy from compression, and it has undoubtedly displayed more gigantic efforts since than before: while the

relative situation of other countries has been but little altered, the two kindred nations have become more powerful, if not more happy, than they were previously to the contest.

It is to be hoped, perhaps, rather than expected, that results equally favourable may arise out of the French revolution: appearances, however, do not justify the prediction. On the contrary, a new destiny seems to be preparing for Europe. Partitions of territory; change of dominion; ancient opinions and establishments overturned; mighty conquests achieved; an old commonwealth swallowed up in Poland; new republicks erected in France, Italy, and the Archipelago; Holland bereft of her stadtholders; Belgium severed from the house of Austria; Venice annihilated as an independent state: all these novel circumstances indicate, and perhaps demonstrate, a change in the social and political world. A great and important one had already taken place in respect to human knowledge, and become the precursor, if not the harbinger, of many of these extraordinary events.

We learn alike from history and experience, that grand national struggles are but seldom unaccompanied by memorable consequences. The Swiss, at once poor, resolute, and virtuous, freed themselves from a foreign yoke with peculiar felicity: neither spoliation nor proscription preceded or followed the contest; the only blood that was shed flowed in the field of battle, and whole centuries of happiness rewarded their courage and forbearance.

Holland, during her long and bloody strife with Philip II. displayed all the energies of republican vigour, and while yet struggling for her own independence, acquired colonies in America, and created an immense empire in the East, which enabled her to soar above the vengeance of the Spanish monarchy. But that towering genius was at length fettered to the ground, by the fatal ascendency of an illustrious family that had contributed to her liberation; instead, therefore, of upholding her national glory, she has been frequently reduced to despair, and forced sometimes to court, and sometimes submit to, the degrading protection of the neighbouring states.

England has proved more fortunate. By the change of her dynasty towards the end of the seventeenth century, she, without doubt, involved herself both in foreign and in civil wars; but she arose more happy and more vigorous from the contest, and after vindicating her liberty and independence, covered the ocean with her fleets, and rendered the most distant nations of the earth tributary, by means of her manufactures.

Not only the local position, but the disposition and pursuits of the inhabitants of the Trans-Atlantic states, have as yet precluded any grand or immediate effects from arising out of that revolution which rendered them a people. Placed at an immense distance from the intrigues and the disputes of Europe, and happily destitute of that military genius which inevitably leads to war, foreign conquest, and domestic servitude, they are content with cultivating the arts of peace.

The fate of France has been more singular, and is pregnant with far greater events. Placed in the centre of the civilised world, possessing an immense internal strength, displaying an astonishing degree of enthusiasm, her struggles have been those of a giant, and all the neighbouring nations were convulsed in consequence of her Herculean efforts. Accordingly, the events of the last twelve years are not to be equalled in any similar portion of the annals of modern times. During that period we have beheld one of the most general and bloody contests that our portion of the globe has ever witnessed; we have seen a formidable combination of powerful potentates fail in the attempt to subjugate a single state, although visited by famine, distracted by contending factions, and overwhelmed with all the miseries of civil war. We have at the same time viewed a great nation trying and exhausting every scheme of government in search of political security and social repose, and after wading through the blood of her first magistrate, a number of her own citizens, and a countless multitude of her enemies, we now behold her acquiring and maintaining that superiority under consuls, which was vainly attempted to be achieved during the reign of her kings.

To investigate the circumstances, both immediate and remote that gave birth to this mighty revolution, not only becomes an object of curiosity, but of practical use. It is therefore necessary to recur to history, for the symptoms of its decay may always be discerned in the civil annals and political organisation of every government; it will be accordingly incumbent on this occasion, to trace abuses up to their source, to compare cause with effect, and form an estimate of the consequent good or evil as connected with the previous advantages or defects.

PHILOSOPHY, of late so much and so unjustly decried, will deduce many instructive lessons from the grand *drama* that has been recently acted on the theatre of Europe; and the inhabitants of free states, whose happiness and prosperity were vainly and ignorantly supposed to be menaced and undermined by a recurrence to argument and reason, while they learn how to prize and preserve the blessings resulting from a well-regulated liberty, will at the same time derive both benefit and consolation from the awful spectacle.

SECTION I.

A COLONY of robbers settling on the banks of the Tiber, after perpetrating a public rape on the females of a neighbouring tribe, at length found it necessary, for their own security, to establish laws, and respect justice. The manners of their descendants, of course, became less vicious; they feared, invoked, and sacrificed to the gods; thus superstition combined with policy to instil the first principles of morals into a rude nation. Frequent contests with other states, and successful struggles with their own chiefs, rendered them at once warlike and free. Equally impatient of the yoke of kings, and of the narrow boundaries of Italy, the gigantic ambition of the new commonwealth at length aimed at universal dominion under the consuls, and the virtues and courage of her citizens enabled her to attain, and perhaps also to deserve it. The impulse of republican insti-

tutions continued to operate for a while during the despotism of the emperors ; the victorious eagles, which at first only hovered around the capitol, at length extended their flight to the remotest regions of the habitable world : even at this day, the common law and common language of almost every European nation attest that the polity and manners of Rome were successfully engrafted on a barbarian stock.

The subversion of the Roman power forms another grand epoch in the history of the most civilised and most interesting quarter of the globe. The northern nations, a high-minded race of uncultivated freemen, were now destined in their turn to become the conquerors of a once mighty people, who had sunk by degrees into inglorious slavery : with the virtue, the power and glory of the empire became diminished, and the hoof of the feudal system at length trod on the splendid ruins of Roman jurisprudence.

After the anarchy attendant on so great and so general a change had abated, tribes settled into nations, and temporary leaders acquired a permanent authority, under the names of dukes, princes, and kings. Thus the chaos in which Europe had been involved gradually disappeared ; and towards the beginning of the seventh century, we behold embrio states and kingdoms, arising out of the wreck of conquest and the miseries of subjugation.

The feudal system, respecting the precise origin of which some of the most enlightened writers among the moderns have differed, possessed two grand, original, and characteristic features ;—the trial by jury, and the representation of all who were not reduced to a state of bondage : these placed our northern ancestors in a higher scale of existence than any of the orien al nations, and have contributed to render tyranny less disastrous and more transitory in Europe than in Asia. But, on the other hand, it exhibited many glaring defects, which were developed in the course of time ; and whenever a remedy was not immediately prepared, became productive of the most disastrous consequences. The power of the feudal sovereign was extremely limited ; while that of the barons, or great vassals of the crown, became at once formidable and extensive. Enabled at any time, by a com-

bination, to war with and even impose terms on the prince, whom they termed their *liege lord*, they first obtained grants of their fiefs for life, then rendered them hereditary, and at length inalienable. As power always tends to cumulation, they also began to annex dignities and titles of honour to their families: they acquired or usurped the right of civil and criminal jurisdiction within their own territories; they coined money; they led their followers to the field; and, in short, enjoyed all the marks, power, and prerogatives, of petty sovereigns.

In the mean time this singular system, so favourable and even so licentious when applied to the great vassals of the crown, degenerated by degrees, and became at length harsh and terrible to the bulk of the nation, about the beginning of the tenth century. At this period, commerce, arts, and manufactures, were almost alike unknown in the north of Europe; nearly the whole of the members of every community were therefore employed in cultivating the earth. These, originally consisting of three different classes, the serfs, the villeins, and the petty freemen, appear to have been reduced, at length, to the most intolerable slavery; indeed, in certain parts of Europe*, at this very day, the peasantry remain nearly in the same degraded state, and still exhibit a lively image of the bondage and the miseries of their unhappy ancestors. So late as the middle of the eleventh century, a lord presumed to exercise the power of putting his slaves to death. Yet in proportion as civility dawned upon Europe, punishments became more mild; but, instead of benefiting, this appears to have contributed to their insecurity, for the murder of these unhappy beings was then compensated by means of a fine.

The torture also was inflicted on very slight occasions: they were not even allowed originally to marry; and when

* In Poland and in Russia, the peasantry are sold with the estates on which they were born: in Bohemia, such are the feudal rigours, that a marriage cannot even now take place without the consent of the lord; but the virtues and humanity of the late count Bernstorff removed this opprobrium from Denmark.

the nuptial benediction was at length conferred by the holy hand of a priest, the ceremony could not take place but by the consent of their master, without incurring the most grievous penalties; these, however, in progress of time, were commuted for money. Sold and disposed of along with the lands, they could not claim any benefit from the fruit of their labours: none of their effects, if fortunate enough to acquire any, could descend to their children: they were obliged to shave their heads in token of servility: and such was the nullity of their testimony, that they were not allowed to give evidence against a freeman in a court of justice*. So great was the power of the principal vassals of the crown throughout Europe, and so intolerable the condition of those under them, that many freemen were reduced by despondency to surrender their liberty, and become the voluntary slaves of those whose interest it was to feed and to protect them.

It is impossible to survey this period of the history of human nature, or contemplate the degrading picture of European manners which prevailed for near five centuries, without the most lively emotions. The mind of every disinterested individual must be affected by the idea of a fellow-man, confined to a particular spot of earth, compelled to labour for another, unprotected by any efficient laws, exposed to the hourly caprice of a task-master, and finally condemned as he descends into the grave to be deprived of the consolation that his children shall become free and happy. These rigours are at length banished from among the more polished nations of our quarter of the globe. Like Africa at present, it once, however, actually possessed its *slave-markets*; even now the scallag† of the Hebrides, together with the boor of Russia and

---

* See Du Cange, voc. *Servus*.

† The lot of "the Celtick slave" is truly horrible; and I refer all such as wish to be acquainted with this barbarous remnant of feudal subjection, to "Travels in the Western Hebrides, from 1782 to 1790, by the Rev. John Lane Buchanan, A. M. Missionary Minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland." The following eulogy on a clergyman in North Uist, sufficiently indicates the cruelty with which this wretched race of men is treated in general: "Never was the minister and tacksman of Ty-Gheary known

Bohemia, still exhibit a disgusting remnant of the ancient manerial bondage : happily, if we dare to contemplate the disgusting scene of man trafficking in man, and employing the torture of the whip, to quicken those labours which are destined to administer to the exclusive enjoyment of a master, we must avert our indignant looks from Europe to her colonies in America, and weep over the triumphs of Columbus.

YET outraged nature, ever intent to uphold her dominion, constantly haunts the offender, by means of the demon of never-ceasing suspicion, and not unfrequently punishes him with the scorpions of never-dying revenge. She vindicated her cause, in respect to ancient Rome, by the horrors of secret plots, as well as by the more open dangers arising from the servile wars ; and in modern Europe, the commotions arising out of servitude, did not cease to alarm and terrify her various governments, until the peasantry were released from a thraldom intolerable to humanity. However restrained, or subjugated for a time, the interests of the great mass of population must at length predominate. This important problem has been already demonstrated in these temperate climes ; and slavery, in its most odious hue, as well as in all its gloomy shades, is now only to be met with in inhospitable extremes, either within or bordering upon the frigid or torrid zone. But even the regions of polar cold and equinoctial heat cannot long resist with impunity the unerring dictates of eternal wisdom : within the space of a single

---

to *kick*, *beat*, or *scourge*, or in any shape to lift his hand against his scallags, in the whole course of his life. Were he not so well tempered a man, *this moderation, not a little unusual in the Western Hebrides*, might be ascribed to motives of self-interest ; for a few blows, even with his naked fist, would break their bones to pieces, and render them for ever useless to himself and to others." P. 41.

A false conclusion is, however, attempted to be wrested from the premises, with a view of lessening our antipathy to negro slavery : the scallags are not, like the Africans *(adstricti glebæ)*, attached to the soil ; they cannot be either bought or sold ; while the cruel punishments to which they are occasionally subjected, are only to be considered as so many violent infringements on those laws, which are intended to afford protection alike to all.

century, the hyperborean bondsman may, perhaps, break his chain on the head of his astonished lord; perhaps, at this moment, the same incontrovertible principle is about to developе itself within the tropics; and the æra may not be far distant, when a West-Indian archipelago, peopled by free blacks, will at once terminate and avenge the cruelties committed against Africa and the human race.

A BRIEF sketch has thus been given of two grand epochs in the history of Europe. In consequence of the first, we behold all its nations subdued by the arms, and civilised by the polity, of the Romans. The second presents to the incurious observer, nothing but a hideous mass of deformity, barbarity, and conquest, collected by force, cemented by oppression, and continually tottering to its fall. The skilful antiquarian is, however, enabled to discriminate between the beauty of the original design, and the unseemly additions imposed by the rude hand of violence. It is unnecessary for him to imitate the modern *virtuosi*, and dig amidst the ruins in search of hidden treasure; for at the first glance, he can still discern the form, strength, and dignity, of that majestic Gothick arch, which once constituted the security of nations, and on which two fortunate states* have contrived to erect the superstructure of their liberties.

SECTION II.

TIME, civilisation, and manners, at length contributed to soften the rigours of that barbarous code, which the conquerors had originally imposed on the subjugated nations. But it was in Italy, and from commerce, that it first received a deadly wound. *Free communities*, as they were then called, in the early part of the eleventh century began to be known, and traders and merchants no sooner tasted the sweets of opulence, than they every where became impatient

* England and America.

to shake off the hateful yoke of their insolent lords. At length great and powerful cities lifted their heads. A few obscure peasants flying from the ravages of the Huns, found shelter amidst the marshes of the Adriatic gulf, and formed a litle society of freemen, from whose huts, scattered over seventy-two islands, the haughty Venice arose. Genoa and Pisa, towering above the shores of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Arno, not only became opulent, but began to feel the usual rivalship arising out of wealth and power. The spirit of commerce soon extended to the north, and the free cities constituting the Hanseatic league, exchanged the productions of the nations situate on the shores of the Baltic, for the manufactures of Italy, and the precious commodities of the East.

But it was not to commerce alone the people were indebted for a melioration of their condition: the clashing interests of the kings and barons, contributed not a little to raise the various nations of Europe from the lowly state into which they had been plunged, by the injustice of the feudal incidents. The former began this memorable reform on their own domains, for they could not exercise any similar jurisdiction within the fiefs of their subjects; but they thus contrived secretly and insensibly to sap that power which they were utterly unable to contend with in open day. Nor was the event unfaithful to their expectations. The emancipated slave diminished the alarming influence of the powerful baron, while the town or city, where the prince's power was acknowledged, became a counterpoise to the castle in which the feudal lord exercised a formidable jurisdiction.

Fortunately for mankind, the ignorance of these petty tyrants, whose minds were alone occupied about war and the chace, prevented them from perceiving the remote consequences of this happy innovation. They even caught the infection of example; and by granting certain privileges to their vassals, prepared for the subversion of the most egregious tyranny that mankind had, perhaps, ever witnessed. Another grand engine recurred to upon this occasion, was the creation of courts of appeal, and the establishment of tribunals for the administration of ustice. By taking ad-

vantage of the folly and fanaticism that prevailed during the crusades, the kings of Europe began also to increase their own power and consequence. At a later period they discountenanced tilts and tournaments, which collected numerous bodies of men around the castles of the nobility; and, at length, adopted still more effectual measures for lessening their consequence, and diminishing their influence, by decreasing the number of their retainers.

But what contributed most to produce a change in the face of Europe, was the policy of her princes, as applied to the political privileges of the people. It was a grand and fundamental principle of the feudal system, that no freeman should be subjected to any new laws or taxes, unless he himself had previously assented to them. Accordingly, the chief landholders presided in the great council of the nation, and exercised these prerogatives in the same manner that their own subordinate vassals sat and decided in the baronial courts. The immunities granted to the towns and cities had already formed so many little commonwealths, in which the inhabitants were governed by their own laws; these freemen, of course, possessed a claim to representation; and we accordingly find some sovereigns calling them in to their aid, and assigning them a place in the councils of the nation.

Italy being the first country in Europe that attained any considerable degree of civilisation, we ought undoubtedly to search there for the earliest traces of popular representation.

As the government of Venice, from the year 452 to the end of the thirteenth century, was either democratical or mixed, so the form we allude to seems to have been coeval with its foundation. In Spain also, we find the third estate claiming a remote origin, and the immunities of her cities conferring a vote in the Cortes immediately after the expulsion of the Moors. In Arragon in particular, the burgesses appear to have been constituent members of those assemblies from their very first institution, although no decided proof of this fact exists anterior to 1133.

An order of peasants seems to have existed in Sweden so early as the twelfth century, and the deputies of the imperial cities formed a separate bench in the diet in 1293.

In England and France, the admission of the citizens proceeded from different motives, and was attended with different effects: in the former country, the barons who took arms againſt Henry III. summoned them to attend in parliament, with a view to counterbalance the power of the king; while, in the latter, Philip the Fair convoked them along with the states in 1301*, for the purpose of serving as a check upon the nobility, and enabling him to repress the pretensions of the papal see.

It is generally allowed then, that in the monarchical states of Europe, and particularly in France, the cities obtained grants of privileges, and the people a right of representation, in consequence of the policy or the necessities of their rulers. No sooner, however, had the barons ceased to be objects of jealousy, by being deprived of a great part of their power and influence, than the increasing opulence of the third estate, or commons, together with their sturdy opposition to whatever appeared arbitrary and unjust, alarmed the suspicions of aspiring royalty. We accordingly find princes seizing on the franchises of those cities and towns which they had been before so zealous to protect, taking measures that the states, diets, or parliaments, should fall into disuse, and permitting the peasants to relapse into their former slavery.

A new species of anarchy, not unfrequently under the forms of law, and the appearance of justice, ensued. The inhabitants of the great states of Europe were exposed for several centuries to the oppression of their monarchs. Arbitrary imprisonments, fines and capital punishments, every where prevailed: the people were destitute of protection; the nobles, inſtead of being the rivals of their kings, now formed part of their retinue; and what was still more sinistrous, and rendered the fate of the bulk of mankind almost entirely hopeless, the usurpations of the court of Rome, and

---

* Robertson, in his history of Charles V. mentions the first meeting of the states-general, as having occurred in 1302; but Mezeray expressly asserts, that they met at "Notre Dame" in 1301. This is confirmed by Bossuet, in his "Suite de l'Histoire Universelle," p. ii. p. 92.

the superstitions of Italy, contributed to spread the sombrous and portentous veil of ecclesiastical despotism over every christian state.

A FEW favourable circumstances, however, at length contributed to dispel the Gothick night, in which our portion of the globe was involved. The happy effects proceeding from the discovery of a new world by Christopher Columbus, and of a new passage to Asia by Vasquez di Gama, soon became evident in the increasing wealth, enterprise, and love of liberty, generated and acquired by the commercial states: the invention of printing also produced a sudden diffusion of knowledge, and finally the reformation, by emancipating the minds of those from bigotry whose bodies had been so recently liberated from thraldom, rendered all the northern nations more enlightened, more industrious, more happy, and more free.

SECTION III.

TOWARDS the close of the fifth century, the Franks, a nation the very name of which implies the free condition of the individuals who composed it, determined to leave their native forests, situate in that part of Germany enclosed by the Rhine, the Elbe, and the sea. They accordingly crossed the former of these rivers under Clovis, defeated their enemies in a pitched battle, acquired full possession of an extensive territory, which some of their countrymen had before invaded, and imposed at once their dominion and their name on Gaul*. The ease with which they subdued a country where Cæsar once found the most formidable opposition,

* Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27. This is said to have occurred about the year 486; but some of the French antiquaries, contending more for glory than for truth, are desirous to convert the predatory incursions of a few individuals into a complete conquest, and have accordingly affected to date this event from the time of Pharamond, and even from a still earlier period.

would appear singular, were we not told by one of the few writers worthy of the appellation of an historian*, that by being formed into a Roman province, the inhabitants had become at once refined and degenerate; and, in conformity to the uniform testimony of experience, lost their bravery and their liberty together.

Like other nations, in similar situations, the conquerors entertained those lofty notions of individual liberty ever cherished during the infancy of society, and were, therefore, less the subjects, than the companions, of their leaders, who were generally selected by themselves. Even for many centuries after their settlement on this side of the Rhine, their notions of the royal prerogative were extremely limited, and they took care to keep their kings in constant dependence on the community.

Under the first, or Merovingian, and the second, or Carlovingian race, the throne was accordingly elective; the successful candidate, in compliance with military usage, being placed upon a shield, and elevated on the shoulders of the surrounding warriors. But the people not only possessed the power of nominating, for, according to indisputable testimony†, they also exercised the right of deposing him, if he proved unworthy of his station.

The great council of the nation was assembled regularly every year in the *field of Mars*, so called from the month in which they usually met; and the king, according to the simple manners of the age, being seated on a waggon drawn by

---

* Tacitus, in vit. Agric.

† See Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, cap. vi. This learned civilian, who composed his celebrated treatise in 1573, states a number of instances in which the prince was dethroned for a variety of causes. "Regno se abdicare, cœgerunt: propter inertiam; propter stuporem ingenii," &c. He begins with *Childeric*, and ends with *Charles the Simple*. While treating of the former, he expresses himself as follows: "And this most glorious and famous deed of our ancestors deserves the more diligently to be remarked, for having been atchieved at the very beginning, and in the infancy of the kingdom, as if it had been a denunciation and declaration, that the kings of Franco-Gallia were made such, upon *certain known terms and conditions; and were not tyrants with absolute, unlimited, and arbitrary power.*"

oxen, proceeded to the spot, and presided as chief. It was on these occasions that they decided on public affairs, declared war, consented to peace, and conferred all honours, commands, and offices, appertaining to the state. Even the mayors of the palace, who acted as the assessors of weak and timid princes, and finally seized upon the throne for themselves, were nominated by the nation*; and in a capitulary of Charlemagne, it is expressly enjoined, that the people should be consulted touching new laws; whence it may be reasonably inferred, that even in his time the French were to be bound by such only as they had previously assented to.

Under the third race the greater part of the people was reduced by the barons to the most degrading slavery†; but

---

* Franco-Gallia, cap. xii.

† It appears evident, that *villenage*, or slavery, in England, soon assumed a milder aspect than in France, although it did not altogether disappear even among us, until the reign of Charles II. The *neife*, or female slave, might have recourse to an appeal of *rape*, if the lord violated her person. Litt. § 189—194. The villein also had a remedy at law against his lord, in case of the murder of his ancestor, or the maim of his own person: privileges which seem to have been unknown to the same unhappy class of persons in France.

In the great charter, procured by the gallant struggles of the barons, it was further provided, that the merchant should be exempt from arbitrary imposts, while the bondman was not to be any longer subject to the forfeiture of his instruments of tillage. On the other hand, we are told by Commines, that the league for the public good in France *(le ligue de bien public)* was very justly termed by the serfs, who acquired nothing by it, but the chance of perishing in battle against Louis XI. *(le ligue du mal public)*, the league for the public evil.

The memory of some very odious prerogatives, such as *prelibation*, *droit de cullage*, &c. was not entirely banished from the nation we allude to, even at a very recent period; and the peasants were treated with great rigour and harshness in our own times. A late author asserts, that feudal claims of a very extraordinary kind still continued to be enacted: "Plusieurs nobles avoient le droit d'exiger des paysans de leur seigneurie de venir battre les fossés de leur château, pour empêcher le croassement des grenouilles:" this, however, it must be confessed, carries an air of ridicule with it; but it was afterwards asserted in the constituting assembly without contradiction, and that too by a noble.

the national council long continued to exercise a large portion of power and influence. The nobles who sat there, cherished an uncommon degree of jealousy in respect to the crown, and out of this arose their future subjugation, and that of the nation: for they expressly avoided the enaction of general laws, because they must have been enforced by the executive power. This error led to the most fatal consequences; for future kings, taking advantage of the neglect, first published edicts in their own domains, then promulgated general and popular acts, in the style of paternal admonition; after these followed proclamations for the continuance of former imposts, and finally, for the enaction of new ones. Thus out of the fear of the prerogative arose its extension; from the dread of adding to its weight, originated a despotism that prevailed for centuries, and the suspension of these very legislatures themselves.

In the year 987, on the demise of Louis V. a new dynasty, termed the *Capetian*, succeeded to the crown of *Franco-Gallia*, as it was then called, in the person of Hugh Capet*, son to Hugh, earl of Paris, to the prejudice of Charles, duke of Lorrain, uncle to the deceased monarch, and his heir by blood. This prince, after overcoming and imprisoning his

---

It is well known also, that so late as the time of Louis XIV. the Count de Charolois wss accustomed to *divert* himself by shooting his peasants, and instead of being executed for these assassinations, was several times pardoned: the reply of the king to one of his solicitations, was worthy of a monarch, evidently an accomplice in all the murders subsequent to the first: "Je vous accorde encore celle-ci; mais en méme tems, je promet aussi la grâce à celui qui vous tuera."

The inhabitants of Mount Jura were actually slaves at the commencement of the revolution, being the *absolute property* of the noble chapter of St. Claude; and Jean-Jacob, one of the natives who repaired to Paris in 1789, solemnly declared, that in his time, M. de Bauffremont, abbot of Clairvaux, was accustomed to fire at the peasants; and this amusement, he said, was then so common, that it obtained the appellation of *la chasse aux vilains*.

* Mezeray, after mentioning that Hugh Capet had prevailed on the lords or great men assembled at Noyon, in 987, to *elect* him king, recapitulates some of his claims to the throne, but candidly admits at the same time that his best title was the general consent of the French people. *Hist. Chron.* part. iii.

less fortunate rival, associated his own son with him in the throne, and even contrived to get him declared his successor. The crown having thus become vested in his family, in the course of the same reign, and in consequence of this very event, the dukedoms, earldoms, and all the magistracies and honours of the kingdom, which before were temporary, now became hereditary also*: thus two great and important events occurred at this memorable period;—one of which consisted in the uniform transmission of royalty in a new family; the other, in the creation of an hereditary nobility: for that granted by letters patent is of a much more recent date, Philip the Hardy being the first French monarch, who, about 1285, had recourse to this expedient.

Notwithstanding these occurrences, it would appear that the authority of the national council was but little diminished during several centuries of the reign of the third race, as is amply testified by Froissart†, Commines, and Hottoman.

The kings of France were accordingly limited for ages, both in respect to the extent and exercise of the royal prerogative; their efforts to relieve themselves from restraint were, however, unceasing, and not always ineffectual. So early as the reign of Charles *le Gros*, we find that monarch imitating the policy of Italy, and adding to the power of his crown, by selling to and conferring franchises on the towns within his own domain, long before any of the neighbouring princes bethought themselves of this obvious mode of strengthening their authority. It proceeded from the same policy of humbling the power of the barons, that Louis X. and Philip *le Long*, afterwards proclaimed—"that all men were born by

---

* This was before attempted during the reign of Charles the *Bald*, but without effect.

† The brevity of this Introduction will not permit me to enter into the particulars, but I refer the doubtful or inquisitive reader to Froissart, vol. iv. c. 44; who here, as well as on other occasions, quotes several memorable instances to this effect. The whole of cap. xvii. of Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, is dedicated to the same purpose.

nature free; and as their kingdom was called the kingdom of the Franks, they were determined it should be so in reality as well as in name: they declared, therefore, that *enfranchisements* should be granted throughout the whole kingdom, upon just and reasonable conditions †."

No sooner had a middle class arisen among the people, and begun to acquire some degree of opulence and respectability, than Philip *le Bel* determined to introduce their deputies into the general councils; and, that they might be more at his devotion, these were chosen from the cities and towns within his own domain. This memorable event, which occurred in the first year of the fourteenth century, was productive of correspondent consequences; and the third estate sat ever after in the assembly of the nation called the states-general, which was convoked occasionally during a period of three hundred and fifteen years.

The situation of France, at the period when this important alteration in the constitution took place, affords reason to suppose, that Philip was extremely desirous to strengthen his authority against the church of Rome; and that he might have been partly induced to this extraordinary measure, in consequence of the arrogant pretensions of Boniface VIII. Nor was the king mistaken in respect to the event, for the states who met in the church of *Notre Dame* in Paris, immediately declared that they would recognize no other superior in *temporals* than their own prince*.

---

† Ordon. tom. i. p. 583, 653.

* The bishop of Meaux expresses himself as follows on this subject; "Le pape Boniface s'étoit persuadé qu'il avoit droit de commander aux rois, & que toutes le puissances du monde devoient être soumises à la sienne. Cette opinion n'étoit point reçûë en France, & il trouva dans le roi Philippe le Bel, un prince tout-à-fait determiné à soutenir le contraire."

Suite de l'Hist. Univers. Sec. Part, p. 90.

"Comme le point le plus important de la querelle entre le pape Boniface VIII. & le roi Philippe le Bel, étoit la pretention de ce pontife d'être le superieur des rois, même au temporel, pour se fortifier contre cette enterprise, le roi fit assembler dans l'église de Notre Dame les états de son royaume, qui déclarerent qu'ils ne reconnoissoient point d'autre superieur au temporel que lui." P. 92.

In 1314 imposts were first voted by the three orders; and in 1317 they decided on the succession to the kingdom.

The power and consequence of this assembly appears now to have been fully recognised: for in 1321, during the time of Philip *le Long*, we find the princes and prelates appealing from the arbitrary decrees of the king's council to the states-general, and leaguing with the cities to resist them. But it was during the reign, or rather the captivity, of John, that this body possessed the greatest share of authority. The dauphin, thinking it belonged to the three orders to provide for the government of the kingdom, and the release of the king, convoked them at Paris, in 1356. No sooner had they met, than, considering themselves as an independent body, that ought neither to be swayed by fear nor influence, they refused to deliberate in presence of the royal commissioners; they even instituted a council for the government of the kingdom, and managed the public treasury by means of officers appointed by themselves. At their next meeting, which took place in the course of the succeeding year, they obliged the chancellor, who had been guilty of malversation, to resign the seals, and removed most of the great officers, even those of the parliament not excepted.

The states-general were again convoked under Charles V. in 1369, when they granted certain subsidies *during the war* only; and Charles VI. his successor, thinking no doubt, that an assembly of notables might prove more tractable, summoned one accordingly in 1413. He appears to have solicited and obtained the consent of the university and citizens of Paris to this measure, which was rendered more agreeable by the plausible pretext of reforming the state; to keep up appearances, commissioners were therefore chosen from the three different orders of the notables, but nothing beneficial appears to have been effected.

A great and important change was thus introduced into the French constitution; and, indeed, immediately after the accession of the Valois branch, a regular conspiracy seems to have been formed against the existence of the states-general. The kings were now in possession of large domains, whence they derived considerable revenues, and became, therefore, but little desirous of convoking an assembly, that

might bridle their own power, and punish the delinquency of their favourites.

But it was not until the reign of Charles VII. that any thing resembling an uniform system of tyranny was aimed at; and it is to the long and bloody contests with England, that we are to attribute that despotism which overwhelmed France for ages. Nor ought mention to be omitted here, of the singular fact, that the same cause which, by leading to the introduction of a standing army, extended the bounds of the royal prerogative in the one country, tended not a little, by the impoverishment of our princes, to the establishment of that liberty which has so long flourished in the other. The victorious monarch, availing himself of the popularity he had acquired by his success against the invaders, and the impression of recent terror, on disbanding his other troops, in imitation of several princes beyond the Alps, retained a body of *men at arms* in his pay, amounting to no more, however, than seventeen hundred, according to Commines*. To this increase of power, Charles added the influence of corruption; and by means of both became the first king of France who, by his own royal edict, and without the concurrence of the states-general of the kingdom, levied subsidies at his pleasure. We are told by the same historian, that he was induced to this flagrant usurpation by the officers of the army, who had driven the enemy out of Guyenne and Normandy; and that in order to obtain the acquiescence of the nobility, he promised them pensions by way of indemnification for the subsidies that were to be levied on their lands.

Louis XI. who to the policy of our Henry VII. added a far more cruel and capricious tyranny than Henry VIII. succeeded but too well in reducing the innovations of his predecessor to a regular system. He also contrived to render his own despotism more formidable, by adding to the military establishment of his father; and, lest the national troops might be attached to the ancient institutions of their country, he took into his pay a body of six thousand foreign mercenaries. To support his army, which he appears to have increased to upwards of twenty-five thousand men, he levied a num-

* C. 7.

ber of new taxes in his own name, and raised the public burdens from 1,800,000 to 4,700,000 franks. To lessen the general odium, he had recourse occasionally to the states-general, which he garbled at his pleasure, taking care that his own creatures only should be permitted to repair to the assembly, where no one was permitted to deliver sentiments in opposition to the will of the monarch.

This prince also contrived to dissipate the influence, and break the spirit, of the nobility, whom he imprisoned in dungeons, carried about in iron cages, tried by illegal means and incompetent tribunals, exposed to torture, and condemned to death. Commines, who was in the service of the tyrant, had often seen many of the grandees imprisoned in close dungeons, composed of wood covered with iron plates, about eight feet wide, and seven feet high; and we are assured by Mezeray, the historian, that he caused above four thousand persons to be put to death by a variety of cruel torments.

But during his last illness, he appears to have been actuated by a consciousness of his usurpations on the constitution: for he advised his son not to levy any taxes without the consent of the states-general. Charles VIII. accordingly convoked a meeting of that body, in compliance with his father's request; but although he gained the president, many ecclesiastics, and the deputies of Paris, this did not prevent the majority from redressing a variety of grievances, and annulling several taxes, which appear to have been afterwards re-enacted by the king of his own absolute authority.

The states do not appear to have been convoked during the reign of Louis XII. although a good and economical prince, who, according to Brantome, was accustomed to say, "that he would rather his people should laugh at his parsimony, than weep at their own oppressions." Francis I. set up his own authority in express opposition to the ancient laws of the kingdom.

Henry II. after a long interval, assembled the states-general, and obtained what he demanded, which was three millions of gold: Mezeray observes on this occasion, "that since the time of king John, they had served for little else but to increase the subsidies."

During the reign of Henry III. we find the queen-mother and the Guises employing all the arts and practices of modern times to influence the elections of the deputies; but, notwithstanding this, the third estate proved refractory; "for in these assemblies," says an historian* often alluded to, "there were always some wise old men, who put the rest in mind of the ancient and natural rights of the people, against which they could not imagine there lay any prescription." The commons accordingly refused the two millions of gold demanded as a subsidy; neither would they consent to alienate the domains of the crown. By way of revenge the speaker, contrary to usage, was allowed to kneel almost half an hour, and the deputies of that order were obliged to stand bare-headed during a considerable time.

We do not find, however, that this produced any advantageous effect in behalf of the crown; for, on a second convocation, twelve years after, we remark the same king greatly offended, because the states-general had demanded the suppression of new offices, an abatement of the tailles and imposts, the punishment of financiers and favourites, and strenuously endeavoured at the same time to restrain the unjust exercise of the prerogative.

Although the duke of Mayenne, as head of the league, convoked an assembly during the war with Henry IV. yet that prince appears to have summoned the three orders but once. In the time of his successor, the states met for the last time in 1614, when the disputes between the different chambers, the intrigues of the court, and the pretensions of the parliament of Paris, prevented their convocation from being serviceable to the nation. In addition to this misfortune, Richlieu, a great and fortunate minister, about that period, undertook the management of public affairs, and bereaved his country even of the hope of regaining any portion of her liberties. During his administration, the catholic grandees were kept in subjection, and the protestants, who always entertained liberal notions respecting government, were com-

* Mezeray.

pletely humbled; in short, the crown was rendered wholly independent both of the nobles and the people.

His successor Mazarine imposed a series of enormous taxes during the minority of Louis XIV. The long and extensive hostilities carried on by that monarch, after he had attained manhood, contributed also to subdue the spirit of the nation. The wars and dissipation of Louis XV. tended equally to harass the public; arbitrary arrests, by means of *lettres de cachet*, rendered personal liberty insecure; and had it not been that the parliaments, from time to time, exhibited a noble spirit of resistance, every notion of public liberty would have been extinguished, and the government of France must have speedily approximated towards an oriental despotism*.

Having thus briefly exhibited the means by which France lost her liberties, it now remains to enumerate the events in consequence of which the power of the monarch was first limited, and then wholly extinguished.

SECTION IV.

AFTER the demise of Louis XV. who, like Francis I. fell a martyr to his debaucheries, the cares of government were destined to be endured, rather than sustained, by his grandson, a prince only twenty years of age. The young king had, however, conducted himself with great propriety while dauphin, and it was fondly hoped by the French that they had at length found a good and virtuous sovereign. Since

* The French lawyers had by this time introduced the maxim, "Qui veut le roi, si veut la loi"—The will of the king is the will of the law; which they undoubtedly borrowed from the axiom of the civilians, "Quod principi placuerit legis habet vigorem." They also employed the formula of "car telle est notre plaisir," with which the edicts always concluded, and which, according to Hottoman (Franco-Gallia, c. 10.), is a gross falsification of the ancient expression of "Quia tale est Placitum nostrum," implying, that the decree had been voted by the national council.

the overthrow of their liberties under Charles VII. a period of more than three centuries, they could not boast of one regent who was entitled to their gratitude, and of scarcely more than two princes* who were worthy of their attachment; while in that space of time they had been governed by Louis XI. a tyrant, and a parricide; a Charles IX. who after plotting the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew, coolly fired from a window of his palace at the unhappy fugitives; a Louis XIV. who beggared France, merely to extend the chain of despotism throughout Europe; and a Louis XV. whose private vises were nearly as ruinous to the state as the long, unhappy, and unjust wars of any of his predecessors.

Louis XVI. finding himself in want of a Mentor to superintend his conduct and regulate his judgment, selected the count de Maurepas; and that nobleman formerly banished from court, and now more than seventy years of age, was immediately elevated to the post of prime-minister. This station, at all times arduous, was at the present moment particularly critical, for he found the finances in a ruinous situation, in consequence of the profusion that occurred during the late reign; and the parliament of Paris, after acquiring celebrity by its opposition to a corrupt system, had been consigned by an exertion of the prerogative to banishment, but not to disgrace.

It was hoped that this august body would have been immediately recalled; and the delay that occurred in respect to the measure endangered his majesty's popularity: for the nation, whose opinion now began to be of some weight, thought that as the members had been exposed to persecution on their account, they were fully entitled to their gratitude. It was with regret, however, that the young king consented to their return; and the event itself is chiefly to be attributed to the spirited conduct of the *old* duke of Orleans, who refused to recognise the newt ribunal that had been destined to supply the place of the parliament.

---

* Louis XII. and Henry IV.

To restore confidence to the nation, and security to the state, Turgot was soon after placed at the head of the finances, and exhibited a series of talents and virtues which rendered his administration uncommonly brilliant. While he remained in place, measures were taken to ease the servitude of the peasants, who were grievously oppressed, by being forced to labour on the highways; he accordingly abolished the *corvées*, and took measures to prevent the recurrence of scarcity by rendering the circulation of grain free: he was also desirous of emancipating the protestants from the operations of cruel laws, to which they had been subjected ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantz; but in this last measure he was opposed both by the clergy and the king. The public creditors in him be held an inflexible administrator of the revenues of the state; the courtiers, on the other hand, conspired against a man who was jealous of the public treasure: his severe probity, and strict economy, accelerated his fall; and the queen, whose expensive habits began to give umbrage, solicited, and at length obtained, his dismission*.

---

* A great and good minister, in an absolute European monarchy, like what France once was, may be considered as a kind of *political conductor*, which by coming in contact with the cloud of public grievances, leads them harmless along his chain until he deposits them in the earth, and thus dispels their fury by giving them vent. Had but two or three eminent and virtuous men been permitted to follow each other in succession, a revolution in the state would have either proved unnecessary, or would have been harmless. But, with a very few exceptions, no country was ever worse governed than France, and a series of bad ministers constantly succeeded a good one.

Sully, by a rare union of prudence and abilities, prevented a violation of the public faith, so often threatened in the early part of the reign of Henry IV.; but the administration of Conchini, during the minority of Louis XIII. reduced the finances to the same deplorable condition as before. Colbert, in the time of Louis XIV. was the first financier in Europe who recurred to enlarged principles, and the vivifying influence of trade, on purpose to enable the people to support their burdens. Turgot, rejecting the odious measures of a national bankruptcy, increase of taxes, and new loans, contrived, by economy alone, not only to render these unnecessary, but also to pay off a considerable portion of the public

When the unhappy contest occurred between Great Britain and her colonies, although France was already involved in a labyrinth of debts and anticipations, it was thought that a fair occasion now presented itself of avenging the late inglorious war, and destroying the effects of the peace of 1763; which, although far from being unfavourable, was still felt to be humiliating. The capture of Burgoyne was accordingly considered as a favourable opportunity for the declaration of war; and the descendant of so many absolute monarchs, did not deem it either impolitic or unjust, to enter into a treaty with, and acknowledge the independence of a people struggling for liberty.

M. de Vergennes, a man well acquainted with the intrigues of all the courts of Europe, directed the department

---

debt. By abolishing the *corvées*, and imposing a petty tax on landed property in their stead, he rescued the peasantry from the most cruel oppression, at the same time that he improved the roads, and gave additional facility to commerce. He projected the formation of provincial assemblies, annulled a variety of fiscal regulations that proved grievous to the people without being advantageous to the state, and never had recourse to the prerogative of the sovereign but to serve his subjects. A friend to toleration, he proposed to emancipate the protestants from the civil and political thraldom in which they had languished ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and even to alter the coronation oath, which obliged a king of France either to perjure himself, or exterminate a meritorious class of subjects under the name of *hereticks*.

Devoted to virtue, he thought that bad laws contributed to produce bad morals; he was therefore an enemy to them: a philosopher, he believed, from conviction, in the immortality of the soul, and cherished the hope, because he considered it as contributing to the comfort of the individual and the benefit of society.

Such was the man, seemingly consecrated by nature and education, to serve the people and uphold the monarchy: but, in consequence of the bigotry and irresolution of the prince, his administration proved short; and the minister, who would never pervert the public revenue from the creditors of the state, was succeeded by Calonne and De Brienne, who were less indisposed to gratify the extravagance of a corrupt court.

During his retirement he dedicated his time to the good of his fellow-subjects and of mankind; and he was eager to apply every moment of his life to the perfecting of plans for the good of the state; because, according to his own account, which proved prophetical in respect to himself, "all his family died young."

of foreign affairs with acknowledged ability; M. de Sartine fitted out, or rather created, a navy; while Necker, a protestant, a foreigner, and a banker, in whose favour so many prejudices were dispensed with, and of whose talents such exalted hopes had been formed, regulated the revenues as comptroller-general. A great financier, perhaps, rather than a great minister, he raised loans on the annual savings obtained by a reduction of the public expences, and attempted the brilliant paradox of carrying on an expensive war without burdening the people by new taxes.

This was the first conflict with the same enemy, during some centuries, that did not prove inglorious to France; for although England displayed her ancient valour and superiority on the ocean, yet she failed in the object of the contest; while the alliance of the American states, the temporary humiliation of an ancient rival, and the triumph ever attendant on success, gratified in no small degree the national vanity of the people.

But the scene was suddenly changed, and dismay succeeded to exultation, when the nation beheld the yawning abyss that undermined her good fortune, and even arose out of her prosperity. As France had been the first state in the north of Europe that recurred to the dubious and expensive policy of standing armies, so she was the first also to suffer from it. This, added to the ambition and the profusion of a succession of weak or profligate princes, had rendered the subjects a prey to the financiers; and, by weakening, prepared for the downfal of the monarchy. Female influence, and the intrigues of a luxurious court, had long since banished the only man* of the age, capable, perhaps, of administering effectual relief, in regard to the public revenue; while the disgrace of another† now bereaved the state of a minister whose integrity acquired the confidence of the monied men, and who, by means of occasional loans, might have propped up for a while the tottering edifice of public credit.

---

* Turgot. † Necker.

After a few changes, a minister who affected a felicitous union of business with pleasure succeeded to the administration of the finances. The rival and the enemy of Necker, he enjoyed the reputation of possessing great abilities; but, unfortunately, his own countrymen did not give him equal credit for integrity. Bold, original, and daring, he projected gigantic schemes that involved the fate and the happiness of the people; while possessing, at the same time, a cameleon-like versatility of character, he could be pliant, supple, and accommodating to the grandees.

Amidst the wreck of public credit, Rambouillet and St. Cloud were purchased for the royal family, and the debts of the king's brothers paid off. To atchieve this, some of the domains of the crown were mortgaged, loans were once more recurred to, a variety of taxes were devised; and such was the presumption of the new minister, that he is said to have promised to pay off the whole national debt of France in the space of twenty years*;—a boast in which he was afterwards imitated in another country with an equal disregard to probability.

But Calonne, who never possessed the confidence of the nation, soon began to be considered as a political quack, who was tampering too freely with an exhausted constitution. His imposts accordingly proved odious, his pecuniary schemes became inefficient, and the king, wearied out with difficulties and delays, at last determined that he would neither have any more loans nor taxes! On this the new financier, ever fertile in resources, determined to have recourse to an expedient which had often been recurred to during the reigns of Francis I. and Henry IV. This was the convocation of the notables, a body nominated by the prince, but yet possessing some resemblance to the ancient states-general, the memory of which was still dear to the nation.

The notables were accordingly summoned by means of a circular letter, signed by the king, in which he appointed them to meet at Versailles; but the meeting was prorogued,

---

* *Précis de la Révol.* par *Rabaud de St. Etienne.*

in consequence of the death of Vergennes. At length his majesty repaired to the place where they were assembled in great state, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and attended by all the ministers and principal officers of the royal household. On this occasion the comptroller-general displayed his usual address, by insisting on the deplorable state of the finances previously to his entrance into office: he also alluded to the immense expenditure occasioned by a glorious and successful war, the creation of a fleet, and the great national works carrying on at Havre, Rochelle, Dunkirk, and Cherbourg. To supply the deficiency of the revenue, it was recommended that neither clergy nor nobility should be any longer exempt from the territorial impost, or land tax; all the domains of the crown were to be mortgaged, and it was intended that the landed property of the church should be subject to certain regulations, in aid of the public burdens.

Notwithstanding M. de Calonne had been at infinite pains to gain the assembly, and adjust every thing according to his own wishes, yet *Monsieur*, the king's brother, declared against him; M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, attacked all his plans; and the attorney-general of Provence asserted openly, "that neither the notables, the parliament, nor the king himself, could assess the proposed imposts in the province which he represented, they being expressly contrary to the specific and indefeasible rights of the people." This assembly, from whose labours the nation only learned the alarming deficiency of the old taxes, to the amount of one hundred and ten millions, and the scandalous and vexatious manner in which all the imposts were levied, was dissolved*; soon after which the projector himself was dismissed, and found it advisable to repair to England, that he might there shelter himself from the vengeance of the parliament.

M. de Brienne, who had so decidedly opposed the schemes of Calonne, succeeded to his office, and in some measure adopted the very plans which he himself had dis-

* May 25.

played so much zeal in rejecting. Recourse was now had to the odious measure of raising money by the king's edict alone; and the doubling of the land tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a stamp duty, were immediately proposed. But, to render these effective, it was absolutely necessary they should be registered by an august tribunal, that had of late acquired the confidence of the people; and by its sacrifices during the last reign, had merited their esteem. The parliament of Paris, on whose deliberations the eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned, instead of a ready compliance, as was perhaps expected, exhibited a sturdy opposition, and even insisted, that a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which the sums in question were to be applied, should be previously laid before it.

No sooner did the king learn that the parliament had refused to register the edict, than he had recourse to *a bed of justice**; at the best an equivocal, and at present a very unpopular measure. It was upon this occasion that a prince of the blood entitled himself to the hatred of the nation, whose aversion he had before in some measure excited by his extravagance; for when the parliament assigned its reasons why it would not register the stamp duty, his royal highness was pleased to exclaim—"that if he were sovereign, the members should be forced to comply!" Nor did the answer of the president escape the notice and the applause of the public: "If you were monarch," said he, "I should repeat what I have now asserted: my heart is the people's, my understanding is my own, and my head is the king's."

Next day the parliament entered a formal protest against the edict, declaring it to be "registered against its approbation and consent;" adding, "that it neither ought nor should have any force," and that "the first person who presumed to carry it into execution should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys."

---

* August 6, 1787.

In a few days after this spirited and formidable protest, the king ordered the hall to be surrounded by a body of troops, and banished the members to Troyes, in Champagne, but not before they had drawn up a remonstrance, in which they displayed equal energy and eloquence. They were, however, recalled soon after, in consequence of a compromise, which was considered to have in some degree tarnished the glory they had acquired.

All differences between the king, or rather the ministers, and the parliament of Paris, seemed now to be composed; and that great body presented an address to his majesty, thanking him for withdrawing the two unpopular edicts relative to the stamp duty and land tax. But the other parliaments, particularly those of Bourdeaux, Britanny, and Languedoc, displayed a spirit of resistance which alarmed the court. That of Grenoble menaced with annihilation the unconstitutional authority usurped and exercised by means of *lettres de cachet*, that most terrible engine of oppression, having solemnly declared it to be a capital crime for any person to attempt the execution of one of those arbitrary mandates within its jurisdiction.

While the public mind was thus agitated by successive hopes and fears, the ministry persuaded the king to take a novel and extraordinary step. Accordingly, at nine o'clock in the morning*, he visited the parliament of Paris, and produced two edicts, which were required to be enforced, one of which indicated a new loan to the amount of 450 millions of livres†. After a speech of considerable length, in which his majesty, departing from his accustomed moderation, claimed the exercise of the royal prerogative with a zeal wholly unsuitable to the times, he added, that he had come on purpose to hear any objections that might be made in opposition to his will. Permission being thus given, a debate ensued in the royal presence, which continued during nine hours; at the end of which period, the king, who was

* November 14.

† About nineteen millions of pounds sterling.

said to have been pressed by hunger, as well perhaps as chagrined at the freedom of the discussion, suddenly arose, and commanded the edicts to be instantly registered. This being considered as a direct violation of all the forms of this august assembly—for his majesty had not been pleased even to allow the question to be put to the vote—the duke of Orleans, with equal firmness and respect, protested against the proceedings, which he said had been rendered null by the unprecedented conduct of the sovereign. The parliament, finding itself thus countenanced by one of the most distinguished of its own peers, and knowing that on this occasion it would be supported by the voice of the people, remained firm, and declared the business of the day void.

The king, in return, immediately sent the duke of Orleans into exile, and issued *lettres de cachet* against two other members, one of whom was confined at Mont St. Michel, an almost inaccessible rock on the coast of Normandy. Such arbitrary proceedings on the part of a monarch, hitherto respected for his humanity, produced the most spirited remonstrances on the part of the parliament. In one of these, no less celebrated on account of its eloquence than its boldness, they claimed, not the favour of the monarch, but his justice, which was subject, they said, to regulations, independent of the will of man; they maintained that kings themselves were bound to obey it, and that his glorious ancestor, Henry IV. acknowledged that he had two sovereigns, "God and the laws." The reply of the king, "that they should not demand from his justice what solely depended upon his will," tended only to irritate the members; who, recurring to the ancient principles of the constitution, at length declared, "that it was neither in their power, in that of the crown, nor of both united, to grant or to levy any new taxes upon the people!"

This appeal to the paramount authority of the states-general, rendered the parliament of Paris the idol of the people; but the ministers were at that moment secretly meditating its humiliation. M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, had already projected the creation of a number of

grand bailiwicks, on purpose to diminish the jurisdiction, the credit, and the revenues of this tribunal, as well as the reformation of the criminal laws; while his colleague, M. de Brienne, now become prime-minister, aimed a more deadly blow, by the project of a *cour plenière*, composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military men, devoted to the court, by which the royal edicts were henceforward to be registered. Notwithstanding the care taken to conceal the edicts formed on these measures, which were to be presented to all the tribunals of France on the same day, a member* of the parliament of Paris found means to obtain copies, and presented them in an extraordinary session, convoked on the 3d of May, 1788. This produced a fresh remonstrance, containing an attack on the ministers, a protest against the plans in agitation, and a declaration, "that France is a kingdom governed by a king according to the laws; and that the right of raising subsidies is in the nation, represented by the states-general duly convened."

On this, the palace in which the parliament assembled was once more encircled by troops, and some of its members seized and confined: the king also held a †*bed of justice*, in which he presented a number of edicts to be registered; among these was one for the establishment of the *cour plenière*, and another for the diminution of the members of the parliament of Paris, from one hundred and twenty to sixty-seven, as had been before done by Louis XI.

The magistrates having entered a solemn protest, his majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations by means of an armed force: he at the same time suspended all the parliaments throughout the kingdom;—a measure which was opposed by an address, signed by forty-seven peers and bishops, "in behalf of themselves and the nation."

Commotions of an alarming nature now ensued. In Britanny, the nobles and the people seemed to suspend their disputes on purpose to investigate public grievances; the inter-

* M. d'Espreminil. † May 8.

mediate commission of the states exhibited great firmness on this occasion; and Rennes, the capital of the province, experienced an unusual degree of agitation. Of the members constituting the parliaments of Toulouse and Grenoble, part were in exile and part in prison; and the inhabitants were so irritated, that they had driven the governor of Languedoc out of his capital; while the troops, hitherto the firm supporters of arbitrary power in every monarchy, and particularly in France, refused to fire on the populace. At Grenoble in Dauphiny, the peasants collected in large bodies from the neighbouring country, to assist the townsmen, if necessary, against the soldiery; and terrour and indignation, rage and dismay, prevailed every where by turns.

At length, the court being now seriously alarmed, the people triumphed over the ministry. M. de Lamoignon*

---

* Chretien François de Lamoignon, president à mortier of the parliament of Paris, and the descendant of a celebrated lawyer, succeeded M. de Miromesnil as keeper of the seals, and remained in office during the disputes between the court and the parliaments in 1787 and 1788. He at first opposed all the plans proposed by M. de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, and afterwards seconded and supported the measures of that minister, in whose disgrace he at length participated.

It must be allowed, however, that he had conceived the idea of a code of jurisprudence which, at any other period, would have entitled him to the gratitude of his countrymen. It was his intention to reform the courts of justice; to introduce the trial by jury in criminal cases; to suppress the scandalous fees received by the judges; to allow counsel and a full and public hearing to all criminals; to abolish the cruel and odious custom of torture, and every other harsh and rigorous measure whatever.

In consequence of his engaging in the project of the *cour plenière*, the parliament of Paris drew up articles of accusation against him, which their president was enjoined to read in the king's presence; but the resignation of the keeper of the seals prevented this new instance of hatred.

On retiring into a private station, M. de Lamoignon supported his *disgrace*, as it was then termed, as well as the hatred of the public, and even poverty itself, with a constancy that could only originate in the consciousness of his having meant well.

The manner of his death was rather singular. On the forenoon of the 23d of May, 1789, he was seen walking in his park, with a small fowling-piece, with which he was accustomed to divert him-

retired in great poverty to his estate, while M. de Brienne was enabled to console himself with the archbishopric of Sens, a cardinal's hat, and a retreat in Italy*. Nor is it to be denied that on this occasion several of the nobility conducted themselves with the most disinterested generosity, for the dukes de Noialles, Rochefaucault, Luxemburgh, and many others, as well as several of the ancient magistrates, actually refused to sit in the new tribunal, of which they had been nominated members.

---

self by shooting at magpies; and about half an hour after, a workman in the vicinity alarmed the family with the intelligence that he was weltering in his blood. His children, by whom he was greatly beloved, instantly ran to the spot, and found that a ball, after breaking his jawbone, had issued out of the opposite temple. As he was incumbered with debts, this unfortunate circumstance was differently interpreted; but it appeared most likely, from the position of the gun, and other concurring circumstances, that his spur had got entangled with the trigger, and produced the fatal accident.

* Loménie de Brienne began his career among the economists and encyclopedists, whose plans of government he affected to follow: but he was not proof against the seductions of ambition, and soon deserted, and even acted in opposition to, those principles which he had formerly cherished. The friendship of the bishop of Orleans obtained for him the archbishopric of Toulouse. He himself acquired some credit by his attention to the affairs of the province in which his see was situate; and he afterwards added greatly to his reputation by opposing the plans of M. Calonne in the first assembly of the *notables*, of which he was a member. It is to this last circumstance that he was indebted for the appointment of comptroller-general of the finances, the post of prime-minister, the archbishopric of Sens, and a cardinal's hat.

He seems to have acquired the king's confidence, but he soon proved himself utterly unfit for any of the civil departments occupied by him; and the recurrence to the arbitrary and unsuccessful measure of erecting a *cour plenière*, at length produced his disgrace.

At the commencement of the revolution he appears to have resumed his ancient opinions, and to have taken the constitutional oath, although he refused the see to which he was again nominated. Finding that Pius VI. wished to deprive him of the honours of the *Roman purple*, he transmitted a very respectful but bold epistle to his holiness, in which he intimated "that the struggle could not be long between his attachment to his country and his red hat, which he begged leave to reconvey to the sovereign pontiff." The archbishop died soon after this at Sens, in February, 1794.

In the mean time, such was the deplorable state of the finances, that only part of the demands on the treasury was paid in cash; the remainder being liquidated by means of bills, due at the end of a year; and the appearance of a partial bankruptcy was only avoided by a royal edict, enjoining all bankers, and others, to receive the paper of the *caisse d'escompte* as money. In addition to this, a scarcity was threatened, and many of the people were actually perishing for want of bread: the notion therefore became prevalent, that the states-general could alone rescue the nation from misery and despair.

The recal of M. Necker, now rendered inevitable by the pressure of circumstances, produced general joy throughout the kingdom: nor were the people disappointed in their expectations; for although no more than half a million of livres was found in the treasury, the public funds immediately rose, credit was restored, and the parliament of Paris resumed its functions: but when that body exhibited a desire to prosecute the late ministry on account of their malversations, the king interposed his authority, and shielded them from public justice.

At the earnest entreaty of the new minister of finances, his majesty reluctantly consented to the convocation of the states-general, which had been promised by Brienne, and much debate took place relative to the mode of forming that assembly, as well as the specific number of members appertaining to each of the orders. The parliament of Paris, which already began to anticipate its future insignificance, was desirous that it should resemble the model of 1614; while a new meeting of notables, summoned expressly for the purpose of considering this subject, declared it as their opinion, that the number of the deputies of the third estate should not exceed that of either of the other two*: but the

* The chamber or *bureau* over which *monsieur* presided, decided, however, by a majority of votes, that the *third estate* should have a number of representatives equal to the sum of the two other orders.

former of these bodies perceiving the unpopularity of their conduct, deemed it prudent to retract; while the example of Dauphiny, and the declared wish of the nation, prevailed in express opposition to the mode alluded to by the latter.

At length Necker procured an order of council, declaring, that the deputies to the states-general should, at least, amount to one thousand; that the number sent by each bailiwick should be in a ratio compounded of its population and taxes; and lastly, that the members of the third should be equal to the joint amount of the other two estates*.

The meeting of this celebrated assembly being at length fixed for the 1st of May, 1789, the whole nation appeared to be electrified. The city of Paris was divided into districts for the elections, and the bailiwicks began to draw up their instructions to the deputies, for the reformation of a multitude of abuses that had prevailed for ages. A variety of pamphlets, all of them favourable to liberty, made their appearance at this period: one of the most celebrated of these†, was burnt by order of the parliament; while another, written by the abbé Sieyes‡, obtained for its author the suffrages of the Parisians.

---

* "Le roi ayant entendu le rapport qui a été fait dans son conseil par le ministre de ses finances, relativement à la convocation prochaine des états-généraux, sa majesté en a adopté les principes & les vues, & elle a ordonné ce qui suit:

"1. Que les députés aux prochains états-généraux, seront au moins au nombre de mille;

"2. Que ce nombre sera formé, autant qu'il sera possible, en raison composée de la population & des contributions de chaque bailliage;

"3. Que le nombre des députés du tiers-état sera égal à celui des deux autres ordres réunis, & que cette proportion sera établie par les lettres de convocation;

"4. Que les décisions preliminaires serviront de base aux travaux necessaires pour préparer sans delai les lettres de convocation, ainsi que les autres dispositions qui doivent les accompagner;

"5. Que la rapport fait à sa majesté sera imprimé à la suite du present résultat."

† "L'Ultimatum d'un Citoyen du Tiers-état."

‡ "Qu'est-ce-que le Tiers état."

It may not be improper to pause here, and enquire into the cause of that imperious necessity, which forced one of the most absolute princes in Europe to invoke the assistance of the nation, and share his power with its representatives.

SECTION V.

A VARIETY of causes conspired to shake the foundations of a throne upheld by the veneration of fourteen centuries, and to threaten the downfal of a prince, the successor of sixty-eight kings. In Asia, where knowledge is stationary, the blind vengeance of a nation is satiated with the sacrifice of the reigning despot; the most terrible crisis produces a change, therefore, not in the fate of a whole people, but of a single individual. On the contrary, in Europe, where learning and science are progressive, an alteration insensibly takes place in the public opinion; and if this be resisted with violence, either a new dynasty, or a new species of government, generally ensues. This immense difference, which ensures a certain portion of liberty to one quarter of the globe, and perpetual slavery to another, is chiefly produced by the art of printing: the men of letters then, in the northern states, may be considered as the arbiters of the destiny of nations.

These, as a body, have uniformly cherished a love of freedom in every country; and in that of which we now treat, the influence of their writings and their example can scarcely be appreciated*. In consequence of the frequent intercourse with Italy, knowledge and learning began to dawn on France, during the reign of Charles VIII. Francis I. not only cultivated a taste for letters, but established public libraries. Mezeray asserts, that his "was the reign of men of learn-

* Mr. Burke was accustomed to estimate their number in Paris alone at twenty thousand, but this is evidently an exaggeration.

ing*." Charles IX. like Nero, seemed to delight in low debaucheries and midnight assassinations: like him, too, he was a very indifferent poet: yet his example could not be unproductive of effect. But it is the reign of Louis XIV. that has been considered as the Augustan epoch; and it must be confessed to have exhibited whatever was exquisite in the fine arts, admirable in polite literature, or useful in every branch of the sciences. It was at this period too, and under the shelter of royal despotism, that those weapons began to be forged, which were afterwards destined to break its chains.

After architecture, poetry, and the fine arts, by improving the taste of the nation, had contributed to the pleasures and the enjoyments of society, a new race of men arose, and undertook the daring task of correcting its errors. The succeeding reign beheld Montesquieu settling the principles of government, and withdrawing part of the veil that concealed the horrors of tyranny; while Mably, after searching into their ancient records, proclaimed to the French that they had been once free and happy. Raynal familiarly arraigned tyranny before the tribunal of public opinion, and thus contrived to render it more generally odious. Rousseau, born and educated within the walls of a republic, was inspired with high notions of liberty: such were the charms of his eloquence, that he at length taught the subjects of one of the most absolute monarchies in Europe to speak and think like himself. Although fond of brilliant paradoxes, and romantic theories, his pen was uniformly devoted to the cause of virtue, and his writings contributed not a little to regulate the spirit of the times in which he lived.

The age of Voltaire forms an epoch in the history of his country. The steady and enlightened friend of humanity, he was equally eager to assist the oppressed and assail the guilty. He conferred eternal infamy on the members of the parliament of Toulouse, who had immolated innocence on the altar of oppression; and acquired the best and most per-

* Hist. Chron. V. de Fr. I.

manent title to true glory, by rescuing the family of Calas from infamy and despair. He assisted the parliament of Paris to annihilate the most singular and formidable society that has existed in modern times:—a politico-religious corporation, the branches of which extended to China, while its head was lost in the clouds. Such was the skill with which he conducted his enterprises, that he influenced both popes and princes to dismiss the most devoted of their satellites: a body which he himself considered as the pretorian guards of civil and religious despotism, ever obedient to the pontiffs, at times dangerous to kings, but invariably attached to an absolute monarchy. Sometimes he condescended to flatter despotism, but it was on purpose to disarm it of its rage; the arrows with which he assailed superstition, inflicted the most deadly wounds; yet they now and then unluckily took an oblique direction, and glanced against the buckler of religion. Arriving at a patriarchal age, this great man enlightened and instructed two generations; and, like Mably and Rousseau, became the immediate precursor of a revolution, which he himself had predicted.

Nor did the disunited efforts of individuals alone tend to change the ancient government of France. Three great academies, devoted to science and instruction, fostered a number of celebrated members, who dared to think with equal freedom on every subject connected with the history and happiness of society. The mathematicians, astronomers, and naturalists, aspired to the gratitude of their fellow-creatures; for, after measuring the bounds of space, calculating the orbits of the planets, and unveiling the wonders of nature, they condescended to become the benefactors, by rectifying the prejudices of mankind. Bailly strenuously laboured to dispel the mist of popular error. Buffon opened a new career to the human mind, by the boldness of his theories. Condorcet intermingled a love of liberty with the study of the sciences: although a noble by descent, he inveighed against exclusive hereditary distinctions, while they yet flourished and were revered*; and proclaimed aloud, at the very foot

* See "La Vie de Turgot," published about the year 1785.

of a throne still absolute, that no government ought to be tolerated in which the people had not a share.

The encyclopedists, without possessing the forms or being encumbered with the ceremonies of an academy, contrived to extend their empire over the public opinion. By the discussion of political subjects, and the dispersion of every species of knowledge, they contributed first to disarm tyranny of half its rage, and then to overturn it altogether. Notwithstanding this, Diderot and d'Alembert were courted and caressed by two of the greatest monarchs Europe has ever witnessed; for both Frederick and Catharine were proud to behold them at their courts, and eager to confide the future hopes of two absolute thrones to their enlightened counsels.

The economists were flattered at beholding ministers selected from among them; and considered Turgot, while regulating the finances and meliorating the fate of an oppressed nation, as at once their ornament and their chief. They were a learned and enlightened body, had devoted their attention to the science of government, and, by uniting with the philosophers, actually obtained for a time, two out of the three great objects to which they aspired;—the liberty of the press, the free circulation of grain, and the establishment of an intermediate power between the king and the people, under the name of provincial states. These various societies and individuals, at once cultivated and propagated a detestation of tyranny; some of them beheld its first gleam; others lived to see the meridian splendour of the revolution; and alas! a few witnessed, but were not permitted to survive, its horrors.

Such were the men who beheld the approach of, and endeavoured to render their country worthy of liberty: happy had it been for the nation had it either remained longer under their tutelage, or that such only had been called to preside over them: for, although a spirit of intolerance and calumny hath gone forth, yet it is a fact, and truth requires it should be every where proclaimed, that the philosophers, mathematicians, and men of letters, were neither the instigators nor perpetrators, but uniformly the victims, of crimes;

and that in no one of the horrors of the revolutionary conflict, have any of these embrued their hands!

But it ought not to be omitted, that there were writers of another kind, who conspired, sometimes involuntarily, against the established despotism. Necker's famous production on the finances, disclosed secrets that proved ruinous to the credit of the monarchy; while the plans and writings of his rival Calonne, who meditated important changes relative to the privileged orders, demonstrated that a new and a better system of government must necessarily be recurred to, on purpose to save the state from bankruptcy and disgrace. The contentions of these celebrated men, by enlightening the nation respecting its revenues, must be allowed to have produced a surprising effect: for the grand primary and predisposing cause of the revolution, originated in the disorganisation of the finances, which excited the clamours of the people; the spirited and eloquent protests of the parliaments; the impotent vengeance of the prince; and finally, an appeal to the states-general, which, by awakening the multitude from their lethargy, prepared the catastrophe that so speedily ensued.

There were also many other circumstances which did not fail to operate, although in an inferior degree. The liberties and prosperity of England—a country separated only by a narrow arm of the sea, and which by its free constitution had been enabled to combat with, and not unfrequently to humble, the monarchy—could not be contemplated with impunity. It is difficult to suppose that so many thousand officers and soldiers had visited and fought in behalf of the rights of America, without being imbued with something of a kindred spirit: there they beheld a new and happy nation, among whom the pride of birth and distinctions of rank were alike unknown; there they, for the first time, saw virtue and talents and courage rewarded; there they viewed with surprise a sovereign people fighting, not for a master, but themselves, and haranguing, deliberating, dispensing justice, and administering the laws, by representatives of their own free choice. On their return, the contrast was odious and intolerable:—they beheld family preferred to merit, influence to

justice, wealth to worth: they began to examine into a constitution in which the monarch, whom they were now accustomed to consider as only the first magistrate, was every thing; and the people, the fountain of all power, cyphers: they beheld a weak king and an unpopular princess, surrounded by favourites and minions; they felt that they themselves and their services were overlooked in the crowd of petitioners, or eclipsed by the pretensions of less meritorious claimants, and they may be supposed to have wished, and even to have languished for a change!

The great body of the army, hitherto the bulwark of the monarchy and the scourge of the people, participated also in some measure, although, perhaps, from different causes, in the general disaffection. Ever since the days of Turenne and Condé, the French troops had been flattered into obedience, and the *principle of honour* substituted in the place of harshness and rigour. But the ancient discipline was now perverted. The soldiers of Germany, subdued into mechanical correctness by the canes of the corporal and the adjutant, and possessing all the facility of a well-regulated machine, without being animated with any portion of that heroic ardour which gives such a decided superiority to the armies of free states, had become models for the imitation of all the kings of Europe.

During the administration of the count de St. Germain, who had served many years abroad, Louis XVI. was persuaded to adopt the military punishments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia; it was unwisely attempted to subdue the refined sense of delicacy of which the French soldier had always boasted, and to overcome his vanity, by subjecting him to the humiliating discipline of the sabre. Many preferred a voluntary death to such a degradation; and so far was the point of honour carried, that several of the drummers, deeming themselves debased by the infliction alone, actually imagined that nothing but the grave could obliterate their disgrace.

It ought not however to be omitted, that other motives might have also operated. The vilest wretch, the basest and most degraded of the human species, even the slave himself,

will sometimes feel the lambent flame of freedom illuminating his mind and warming his heart: at those periods too, when a loose is given to the passions, and allurements of every kind are held out, the man will insensibly burst forth in the warrior; the soldier will be proud to feel that he is an armed citizen; and the troops, subject to the perpetual restraint of subordination, will be easily captivated by the fascinating sounds of liberty and equality. Certain it is, the French soldiery were soon taught that they had hitherto mistaken the object of their glory: they learned to distinguish between the monarch and the monarchy; they were impressed with the great and important lesson—that allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties, and that true patriotism consists in serving our country alone.

The clamours of the people, the disorders of the court, the deranged state of the finances, the tyranny of an arbitrary government odious even to soldiers, and the hope derived from the convocation of the states-general, had reached their ears, and began to affect their understandings. They were also piqued to find that they were suspected by the courtiers; and they could not behold without indignation, the foreign troops selected, trusted, and preferred to themselves. Those who had served on the Trans-Atlantic continent, recollected the cause in which they had been already victorious; those who resided in the capital, had formed an intimacy and a friendship with the citizens; a numerous and formidable body, by a long continuance there, had begun to imitate the manners, the customs, and even to adopt the political sentiments, of the inhabitants. France also, the most warlike nation in Europe, scarcely possessed a single individual who had not served in her armies: a great portion of the Parisians were therefore already enured to discipline, and familiar with arms. In addition to all the other motives which this class of men possessed in common with their fellow-subjects, the seductions of interest ought not to be omitted. The French guards secretly coveted the honour of being employed about the persons of their kings; the veterans in the line were taught to hope that they might become subalterns, for, although plebeians, they aspired to these dis-

tinctions hitherto, with a very few exceptions, conferred on blood alone.

No sooner, therefore, did the revolutionary volcano burst forth, than the troops of the capital were entangled in, and carried along with, the burning lava. Dazzled with gold, gratified with women, intoxicated with wine, inflamed by patriotism, it was utterly impossible for them to resist so many allurements; accordingly they at length joined, and, in a great measure, actually decided the fate of the most general conspiracy Europe had hitherto witnessed against the despotism of a throne, upheld by a powerful clergy and nobility, surrounded by numerous armies accustomed to implicit obedience, and strengthened and supported by the inveteracy of custom, and the prejudices of ages.

At this critical period, when union and ability might have protracted the fate of the monarchy, the court was distracted by private jealousies, and divided by petty feuds. It no longer awed by talents, or dazzled by dignity, or intimidated by terror. The crown, in compliance with the recommendations of a citizen of Geneva*, was shorn of its lustre; for he had prevailed upon Louis XVI. to reform his brilliant but expensive establishment of household troops, consisting of the light horse, the gendarmes, and the musqueteers, whose gilded trappings attracted the admiration of the multitude, and whose haughtiness was in some measure calculated to awe them into obedience! The royal authority, frequently and unjustly exercised against the parliaments, had at length yielded to their firmness; the prerogative, omnipotent in theory, was now, for the first time, bounded in practice. The king, possessing many virtues, but feeble, irresolute, and luxorious, excited pity, and even contempt. Vibrating between the violent counsels of his consort, and the timidity of his own nature, he appears to have been eminently capricious, for he was by turns tyrannical and compliant.

Maria-Antoinetta, while dauphiness, had acquired the respect of the nation, by refusing to countenance the mistress

* M. Necker.

of the reigning monarch. On a variety of accounts, this beautiful but imprudent princess now experienced its hatred. Until her time, the queens of France, restrained by certain accustomed formalities, had never dined in the company of the other sex; and, in consequence of a strange inconsistency, her majesty was accused by the inhabitants of a gay and debauched capital, with having overleaped the bounds of punctilio, and even of decorum, by living and conversing familiarly with her courtiers and favourites. But it cannot be denied that some parts of her conduct were subject to more serious reprehension. Her expences were enormous, her demeanor haughty; her aversion to every thing that bore the name of liberty was conspicuous, and the manner in which she governed the prince, exposed both him and herself to unceasing suspicion. The people were jealous of her early partialities: they imagined that she was a better sister than a wife, and more attached to the interests of Austria than of France; they even pryed into and loudly arraigned her pleasures: in addition to this the recent transaction about the diamond necklace, in which her character was unfortunately implicated with that of the debauched cardinal de Rohan, and a female adventurer of the name of la Motte, had also generated suspicions that were revived, from time to time, by the clamours of discontent, and the virulence of party zeal.

Her majesty and the king's two brothers were also at open variance among themselves. The elder of these had acquired and retained the respect of the nation until the period of his flight; but the profusion of the younger, and still more his zeal against every innovation on the ancient despotism, at length rendered his name odious. On the other hand, the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, openly aspired to popularity. His ancestor had been invested with the regency by the parliament of Paris, in express opposition to the will of Louis XIV. and both his father and himself, moved perhaps by gratitude and affection, had ever warmly espoused the claims and privileges of that august tribunal. Arrested and exiled by the king, considering himself as the object of the queen's unceasing vengeance,

and a victim destined to bleed on the restoration of the monarchy, he and his adherents engaged in the political contest with unceasing ardour, and expended an amazing fortune to produce, strengthen, and support a revolution, that in the end proved their destruction.

The numerous and notorious abuses in the government, also produced an effect correspondent to the knowledge of an inquisitive and critical age. France, a prey by turns to cruel, contemptible, or fanatical princes, ambitious or profligate regents, tyrannical ministers, avaricious financiers, corrupt favourites, and devouring courtezans, had not for whole centuries enjoyed either happiness or repose. She was denied even the *sleep of despotism*, the only consolation that a people can derive from the degradation of servitude, having twice experienced all the horrors of a national bankruptcy, and been in succession the theatre of domestic, foreign, and religious wars.

The feudal hierarchy* had become burdensome and oppressive. Instead of softening, as formerly, the exercise of the royal prerogative, and presenting a barrier between the king and the people, the grandees were now considered as wholly devoted to the monarchy; some were invested with high commands in the army, some governed the provinces, while others, under the names of grand butlers, grand chamberlains, and grand masters of the wardrobe, had become its menial servants: divided into casts of old and new, nobles of the sword and of the robe, of the court and of the provinces, they all claimed an exemption from taxes; and, although jealous of each other, cordially united in treating the inhabitants of the towns with the most insufferable haughtiness, while they considered those of the country as little better than their slaves. Addicted to war, to the chace, and to the pleasures of the table, residing chiefly in courts and in camps, they did not perceive that the invention of printing had destroyed the prejudices of chivalry; while that of gunpowder, by equalising the danger, had removed the differ-

* See appendix to vol. I. A.

ence between an aristocracy coated in mail, at once armed and invulnerable, and the naked plebeian, exposed, dispirited, and defenceless*. Some few, indeed, rising superior to their order, considered their privileges as the chimeras of a Gothic age, and taking refuge in literature and the sciences, did not deem themselves degraded, because they had become at once happy and useful. But the far greater number still continued to harass their unhappy vassals by means of obsolete and intolerable claims, to enforce the exclusive right of the chace by the terror of cruel punishments, and to snuff up the incense which the compliant priest removed periodically from the altar of the divinity, to strike the manerial bondsmen with awe, and gratify the senses of their haughty lords. They had thus become odious to the peasantry, whose obedience sprung only from their fears, and who sighed in secret for retribution and revenge!

What the possessors of fiefs originally acquired by their swords, the clergy had obtained by the profusion of a barbarous age. Taking advantage of the weakness of kings, and the ignorance of nobles, they extended over both the chains of superstition, and seized on the better portion of France in the name of Heaven: but they were careful to add terror to to supplication; and, while they conferred the blessings of another world with a lavish hand, eager to ensure to themselves the riches of the present, they menaced, with eternal punishments, all those who opposed either the increase or the duration of their power. Yet, in the early periods of an amiable and beneficent religion, the ecclesiastical hierarchy must be allowed to have exhibited frequent instances of the most edifying piety, in addition to the most scrupulous austerity. But wealth, as usual, had corrupted their successors: they now mingled in the intrigues of the court; they yielded to the cravings of passion, and the solicitations of luxury; they even caballed to become placemen, financiers, and ministers. Some aspired to and actually obtained the Roman purple, through the medium of minions

* Tableau Hist. & Polit. par L. P. Segur, vol. I.

and mistresses; and others had brought contempt upon their order, by the irregularity of their lives, and the scandalous impropriety of their conduct: all the pride of the mitre remained, but the crosier was no longer considered as the pastoral staff of the patriarchal times.

It is also worthy of remark, that the influence of superstition, and even of the clergy, was now visibly on the decline throughout the nation; and that an age devoted to the cultivation of literature and the sciences, felt itself but little interested in those polemical contentions which at once occupied and disgraced the two former reigns. The frivolous and unprofitable disputes about speculative points of theology, were either wholly exploded, or confined solely to the cloister. The very names of the contending sects had become obsolete; and with the holy fervour about grace, heavenly love, and free-will, had disappeared the molinists, the jansenists, and the quietests.

The amazing wealth possessed by nineteen archbishops, and one hundred and twenty-two bishops; the immense revenues belonging to twelve hundred and eighty-eight abbeys, twelve thousand four hundred priories, and fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighty convents; excited the surprise, and perhaps also the envy, of the laity. They began to enquire into the original intention of the founders; and as their zeal was no longer kept alive by miracles, a carnal and selfish age repined at the misapplication of so much useful treasure; while the public creditor, vibrating between his interest and his prejudices, at one moment wished to preserve the institutions of his forefathers, and at another longed for a reformation similar to that which had occurred in England during the early part of the sixteenth century; in consequence of which, the wealth of the church might be applied to the service of the state.

In the mean time the dignified clergy, leaving the care of their flock to others, generally resided at the court, or in the capital. Their numerous and extensive royalties were administered by delegates, who abated nothing of the feudal rigours; the exclusive rights of the chace were enforced with unrelenting severity; the peasantry already oppressed by the

nobles, groaned under the exactions of the church; and tithes, ever viewed with an evil eye even in rich countries, were peculiarly grievous to impoverished cultivators residing in unproductive soils. The parochial clergy, although poor themselves, constituted the only stay and consolation of the people; they also were oppressed by their more opulent brethren, for the prelates had continued to throw the burden of the *voluntary gift* upon the great body of the priesthood, whose complaints had long proved unavailing, but whose resentment, at a subsequent period, by inducing them to join the third-estate, produced a schism in the church, and put an end to the established hierarchy.

While the claims and privileges of the nobility and clergy had become stationary, and remained nearly in the same state as during the middle ages, when they were ot once consecrated and shielded by the prejudices of the times, the acquisitions of the people were utterly incompatible with their situation. The fine arts had inspired them with taste, commerce had diffused wealth, and knowledge had taught them to detest the pride and the injustice of the nobles. Under the degrading forms of an absolute monarchy, they had imbibed a republican education. While they beheld all the emblems of tyranny around them, the youth were taught to admire the institutions of Greece and of Rome. At the moment their native country was exposed to the joint spoliations of Pompadour, Debarre, and Louis XV. a Themistocles, an Aristides, a Cato, a Cicero, and a Cincinnatus, were the models held up for their imitation. So strong was the current of opinion, that Condillac became the preceptor of princes; and the descendants of absolute monarchs beheld, with a benignant eye, the triumph of that celebrated Roman, who had avenged the crimes of a tyrant with his blood. Such, in short, was the unaccountable perversity of the age, that the hands of a king engaged during the morning in signing decrees of proscription, were employed at night in applauding Brutus at the theatre!

Among the other changes that had insensibly taken place, that of the liberty of speech was not the least conspicuous. Writings were every where read and circulated against the

weight, number, inequality, and misapplication of the taxes; the vexations of the farmers-general; the venality of offices; the imperfection of the criminal code; and those arbitrary and illegal imprisonments produced by *lettres de cachet*. There was a general outcry against the tributes paid to the pope, the wealth of the clergy, and the profusion with which pensions were assigned on an exhausted treasury. The provincial nobles, who in Britanny and Dauphiny had resisted the royal authority, hoped to profit by the approaching assembly of the states, and wished to annihilate the superiority claimed by their rivals at Versailles; the inhabitants of the country aspired to obtain a relaxation of the imposts, the weight of which was chiefly borne by them; the creditors of the state, at once numerous and clamorous, were desirous to avoid a public bankruptcy; in fine, every portion of the nation, the grandees and the dignified clergy alone excepted, seemed to long for rather than to avoid a crisis.

All the great cities in the kingdom were eager to reform the abuses of government. On this occasion, the immense wealth and population of the capital gave it a decided preponderance, and at length rendered it alone able to overthrow the ancient despotism. Poverty, which always takes up its abode in the neighbourhood of luxury, in addition to the want of occupation and of bread, the cry and the hope of liberty, the harangues of popular orators, and the daily productions of a press teeming with inflammatory productions, rendered Paris the scene of perpetual agitation. The inferior classes of the nation, ignorant, neglected, debased by servitude, goaded by misery, disposed to excess, and far better fitted to acquire than to preserve their freedom, every where presented the elements of convulsion: in short, a civil war, as well as a revolution, became almost inevitable.

Nor can it be denied that the fountain of power was corrupt, and that its turbid stream at once polluted and disgusted the nation. A multitude of grievances existed, delinquencies of the most criminal nature had been long perpetrated with impunity, and the abuses were so numerous as to extend to every department of the state, and every province of the empire. The monarch affected to unite in his own person the

executive and legislative authorities, and often interfered in the judicial administration. The finances were reduced to the most deplorable condition; and the nation, forgetting the immense expenditure of the late war, and the expensive schemes entered into for obtaining a port in the Channel, contemplated the profusion of the court, as the sole cause of their misery. The parliaments, although of late the victorious defenders of their own and the people's rights, had not always been able to withstand the blaze of majesty; and a royal session might at any time have rendered a determined king paramount to all resistance*.

The nation was thus left naked and defenceless, while the crown was armed with the support of custom and prejudice, a numerous nobility, all the dignified clergy, and an army of 150,000 men, a large portion of whom were foreigners.

The Bastille, and a variety of subordinate prisons, had always opened their dreadful dungeons at the voice of a resolute prince; a free press, which leaves to a bad minister the choice of his duty or his dishonour, was still unknown; *lettres de cachet*, sold publicly towards the end of the late reign, had been granted during the early part of the present with the most scandalous impunity; and, however amiable, or however timid the present monarch might be, yet, according to the pretended rights of the crown, another Louis XI. might have fabricated new iron cages for his victims, or another Charles IX. perpetrated new massacres on his miserable subjects.

Nor were the grievances of the people confined wholly to the exercise of the royal functions. The administration of justice was a source of continual censure and perpetual despair. The offices of the judicial magistrates were venal, and they were supposed to reimburse themselves, not only by fees and perquisites, but even by the sale of their decisions: to such a shocking pitch was this carried, that certain females, known by an appropriate name,† were employed to solicit favour from, and even to corrupt, the fountain of justice.

---

* See Appendix to vol. I. B. † *Les Solliciteuses.*

The bulk of the people was overburdened with taxes, many of which were rather oppressive than productive; offices conferring nobility were publicly bought and sold; while the nobles were exempt from the operation of imposts, and the clergy contributed only what they pleased under the name of a *benevolence*.

The occupations of the merchant and the farmer were considered as discreditable; the plebeians were excluded from all the high offices in the state, and the profession of arms, alone honourable, was consecrated to the enjoyment of a particular *cast:* to command a regiment, or a man-of-war, it was necessary to be a noble.

Many of the rigours of the feudal system still disgraced the code and the practice of an enlightened nation. The game laws were enforced with a barbarous, unfeeling, and unrelenting oppression: the death of a hare or a partridge was sometimes expiated by slavery in the galleys.

The manerial claims were at once odious and degrading. In several of the provinces the possessor of a fief, under pretence of digging a pond, could rob such as held under, and displeased him, of a garden or an orchard. The right of *free warren* was carried to an alarming extent; the numerous dove-cots not unfrequently aided the artifices of the monopoliser to produce a dearth; the peasant beheld the rabbit, the pheasant, and the pigeon, devouring the fruits of his labours with impunity, while the scanty remnant of his harvest, after being diminished by ecclesiastical exactions, was to be ground at the mill of his lord alone.

The farmers in the remote districts had reached but a single step beyond the boors of the northern nations. Tied down by the hand of poverty to the soil where they were born, while they maintained the clergy by their tithes, and assisted the nobles by their personal services, they were scarcely able to support their own families; and in years of famine, which frequently occurred, multitudes actually perished from want: nor was this all, for at the period of which we now treat, some of the inhabitants were actually in a state of bondage.

The people being thus left entirely destitute of redress or protection; the royal authority paramount and unbounded; the laws venal; the peasantry oppressed; agriculture in a languishing state; commerce considered as degrading; the public revenues farmed out to greedy financiers; the public money consumed by a court wallowing in luxury, and every institution at variance with justice, policy, and reason: a change became inevitable in the ordinary course of human events, and, like all sudden alterations in corrupt states, was accompanied with temporary evils and crimes, that made many good men look back on the ancient despotism with a sigh.

But at this period the cry of liberty resounded in every possible direction from Paris, the city where the revolution was engendered, to the Alps, the Pyrenées, the plains of Flanders, the borders of the Channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. So great and so instantaneous was the impulse, so ominous, so dangerous the example, that some, affrighted at the terrible and portentous explosion, and carefully averting their eyes from the real and palpable motives here attempted to be detailed, have sought for a solution of this grand political paradox in obscure, occult, and contemptible causes: thus, a learned professor* lately illustrated his theory of the *phenomena* in the French hemisphere, by recurring to the incantations of the *illuminati;* while an expatriated abbé† has unriddled the enigma of the revolution, by deducing it from the mysterious arts and alarming progress of free-masonry!

SECTION VI.

AT length the states-general, which had been by turns promised, delayed, and precipitated, after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-five years, assembled at Versailles, on the

---

* Robinson. † Barruel.

5th of May, 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion;—the representatives of the nation, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the king, having repaired to the temple of the Deity amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to reform and regenerate the state. The splendour and variety of the robes of two of the orders added greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle: for the dignified clergy were dressed in a style of grandeur suitable to their respective ranks, being adorned with scarfs, crosses, and crosiers; while the nobility were decorated as in the days of chivalry, with flowing mantles covered with lace, plumes of feathers waving in the air, stars and ribbands calculated to produce a theatrical effect, and swords glittering with gold and diamonds. The third estate, on which the people chiefly relied, on the other hand, seemed to affect simplicity, the members appearing in plain clothes, surmounted by short woollen cloaks, as in the time of Philip le Bel; but they were hailed by the surrounding multitude as the hope of their country, while a solemn and inauspicious silence prevailed during the procession of the rest of the assembly.

HAVING returned towards the hall, the king, the court, and the deputies of the two first orders, were suffered to enter through the folding doors, at the principal gate; while the commons, after waiting for several hours in a small wooden mansion adjoining, were at length suffered to pass, through a postern, and behold that blaze of grandeur by which they were at once surrounded and eclipsed*.

---

* The following account seems to have been written by an attentive spectator:

"Quel grand & magnifique tableau s'est déroulé sous mes yeux! Je n'ai pas de termes pour vous rendre, pour vous exprimer mon extasé & mon ravissement soutenus pendant neuf heures de suite sur ce tableau. Une vaste salle, construite & décorée d'un grand goût soutenue par vingt colonnes Doriques, exécutée dans toutes ses parties en style du même ordre, dans ce style d'architecture le plus noble & le plus imposant de tous. Mille à douze cents représentants de la France occupant le fond de la salle, divisés en trois ordres.

After a long and tedious ceremonial, the king, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the queen on his left hand, and the princes and princesses of the blood around him, delivered the following discourse, which he read from a paper in his hand, in a loud and distinct voice, and with all the confidence of an orator accustomed to address a numerous assembly:

"Gentlemen,

"The day has at length arrived which my heart has so long panted to behold, and now I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation which it is my glory to command.

"Le clergé vis-à-vis de ma tribune, dans son plus riche costume. Les députés de la noblesse vis-à-vis du clergé, couverts de plumes ondoyantes sur des chapeaux de forme féodale, propres aux tems heroïques de la monarchie, & de manteaux noirs éclatans de dorure, & d'une coupe à la fois élégante & théâtrale; tous, l'épée au côté. Dans le fond de la salle, à ma gauche, les cinq au six cents députés du tiers-état, tous en noir, habits & manteaux de laine, cravates blanches, & chapeaux rabattus; sans épée.

"A ma droite l'estrade qui soutenoit le trône, placé sous un dais éblouissant. Le roi, la reine un peu plus bas. A la gauche du trône, & du côté de la reine, les princes & les princesses du sang les grands officiers de la couronne, chacun dans le costume qui leur est propre. Ensuite les ducs & pairs, & tous rangés sans confusion & dans l'ordre le plus pittoresque.

"Au bas de l'estrade, une grande table couverte d'un tapis verd; des écritoires, plumes, & papiers. Autour de la table, les ministres & sécretaires d'état. Près d'eux, & à leur droite, tous les conseillers d'état en corps. Le garde des sceaux près des marche du trône. Au devant des bancs du tiers-état, sept on huit hérault d'armes, vêtus d'un manteau court & violet en forme de tonnelet, tenant à la main un long bâton couvert & parseme, ainsi que le manteau, de grosses fleurs de lys brodés d'or. Toutes les femmes de la cour, éclatantes dégagé d'or, d'argent, de broideries, & de diaments, remplissoient les deux premières entre-colonnes à l'opposite l'une de l'autre, &c.

"Deux milles spectateurs d'élite, hommes & femmes, occupoient le reste des entre-colonnes, & toutes les tribunes qui regnoient au-dessus. M. Necker se faisoit remarquer par son vêtement, précisement parceque vêtu comme tout le monde il ne l'étoit comme personne de la salle; il avoit un habit gris de fer, chargé d'un riche & large broiderie d'argent," &c. Correspondence d'un Habitant de Paris, &c. p. 1. 2.

"A LONG interval hath elapsed since the last convocation of the states-general; but although these assemblies have not for some time been held, I have not been dissuaded by the example of my late predecessors from re-establishing a custom by which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness.

"THE public debt was already immense at my accession to the throne, and has increased under my reign; an expensive but honourable war has been the cause, and the augmentation of taxes the consequences of it; but an unequal levy has occasioned them to be more severely felt.

"A VERY general discontent, and a too eager desire for innovation, have taken hold of the minds of the people, and will end in misleading their judgment if they do not hasten to fix it by wise and moderate counsels.

"IT is in this confidence, gentlemen, that I now assemble you; and I rejoice to think that the measure has been justified by those dispositions which the two first orders of the state have shewn, to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cherished, to see all the orders unite and concur with me in wishes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived.

"I HAVE already ordered very considerable retrenchments in respect to my own expences; you will moreover furnish me with your sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly: but, in spite of the resources which the strictest economy can suggest, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish.

"I WILL give orders that the exact state of the finances may be laid before you; and when you have examined this, I am assured you will propose to me the most effectual means of establishing them on a permanent footing, and strengthening the public credit. This great and salutary work claims your most earnest attention; it is that which will secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain its consequence among foreign powers.

"THE public spirit is in a ferment; but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other

counsels but those founded on wisdom and prudence. You yourselves, gentlemen, have been able to judge on many recent occasions, that the people have been misguided; but the spirit which will rule over your deliberations will also evince the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose distinguished character has been the love of their prince. I shall banish from me every other sentiment.

"I KNOW the authority and power of a just king, surrounded by a faithful people, at all times attached to the principles of monarchy; these have occasioned the glory and splendour of France; I ought, and I ever shall support them.

"BUT whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good, whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me.

"MAY a happy union reign in this assembly! And may this epocha become ever memorable by the felicity and prosperity of the country!

"IT is the wish of my heart; it is the most ardent desire of my prayers; it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.

"THE keeper of the seals will explain my intentions more fully, and I have ordered the director-general of the finances to lay before you the state of the kingdom."

WHEN his majesty had ended a speech, several passages of which were received with a marked applause, M. Barentin arose, and paid many compliments to the monarch, who had listened to the public voice, and granted a double representation in favour of the most numerous of the three orders—that on which the burden of taxation principally fell. He also enlarged on the advantage of a limited government, equally removed from absolute monarchy on one hand, and anarchy and republicanism on the other. Necker succeeded the keeper of the seals, and in a speech of great length, insisted on the necessity of directing the principal attention of the assembly to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged; but he at the same time reduced the *deficit* to fifty-six millions of French livres, which he affected to consider as a trifle for a great and opulent nation. His harangue, how-

ever, gave satisfaction to no party; the courtiers deemed it alike unfavourable to their prejudices and their privileges; the third-estate was astonished that nothing was said of liberty, reform, and a new constitution; and all were surprised that, in respect to the great and important question of deliberation by poll, or by chambers, the speech of the comptroller-general was dark and ambiguous.

That very evening the deputies of the commons, having assembled by provinces, agreed to meet in the hall of the states, and wait the arrival of the two other orders, for the purpose of deliberating and verifying the returns of all the members; for they knew, by the experience of the preceding states general, that without this their numbers would be of no advantage, and their mission unattended with any beneficial consequences to their constituents. On the next day they repaired again to the hall, and the other orders to their particular chambers, where each began to verify its respective powers. This proceeding was not satisfactory to the third-estate, the members of which insisted that the verification should take place in common, and in their hall; and that until the clergy and nobles had fulfilled this ceremony, they were not to be considered as legal bodies. Having chosen the eldest representative as president, and the youngest as secretary, they accordingly dispatched a deputation to the two other orders, requesting their presence; but the nobles proceeded as if nothing had occurred: the clergy, however, suspended their deliberations.

At length, the first of these bodies notified to the commons that they were constituted; on this the clergy, who foresaw the approaching storm, proposed a committee of conciliation, which was agreed to by the commons, but the nobles would not listen to the proposition of a joint session. The third-estate then transmitted a message * to the clergy, inviting them to a junction; and this being supported by the

* "Messieurs les députés des communes invitent messieurs du clergé, au nom du Dieu de paix, & de l' intérêt national, à se réunir à eux dans la salle de l'assemblée générale, pour y opérer de concert l'union & la concorde."

eloquence of Target, one of their members, produced such an effect, that Lecesve, Ballard, and Jallet, three parish priests of Poitou, persuaded that their powers ought to be inspected in common, repaired immediately to the national hall, and were followed next day by several others.

At length the commons, to the number of five hundred and eighty-three, having verified their powers, resolved to declare that they were the representatives of the nation; and after Sieyes, Mirabeau, and several other members, had distinguished themselves on this occasion by their abilities and zeal, they accordingly proclaimed themselves by this title, while the roof of their hall re-echoed with the sound of "Long live the king and the national assembly!" The next step was to take an oath to discharge their functions with fidelity to their constituents; they afterwards elected Bailly president for four days, while Camus and Pison du Galand were nominated secretaries during the same period.

Their first operations displayed great vigour and energy, for they began by proclaiming all the imposts illegal, because they had not been consented to by the nation; they, however, re-enacted them instantly in the name of their constituents, declaring at the same time, that they were to cease on the very day on which the present assembly was dissolved. They, moreover, promised instantly to adopt measures in concert with his majesty, to fix the principles of national regeneration: they also determined to devote their attention to the examination and consolidation of the public debt: to enquire into the causes that had produced the present scarcity; and in the mean time they placed the creditors of the state *from that moment* under the protection of the honour and loyalty of the French nation *. These particulars, drawn up in the

* "L'assemblée nationale, considérant que le premier usage qu'elle doit faire du pouvoir dont la nation recouvre l'exercise, sous l'auspices d'un monarque qui, jugeant quelle est la véritable gloire des rois, a mis la sienne à reconnoitre les droits du peuple François, est d'assurer pendant la durée de la présente session la force de l'administration publique;

"Voulant prévenir les difficultés qui pourroient traverser la perception & l'acquit des contributions, difficultés d'autant plus séri-

form of an address, by interesting all descriptions of men in their favour, added at once popularity to their proceedings, and stability to their power.

In the mean time the two other orders were divided and agitated by a variety of contending passions. In the chamber of the clergy, a majority of one hundred and forty-nine voices had decided against one hundred and twenty-six, for an union with the commons; while in that of the nobles, M. de Montesquieu moved that they should invite the clergy to join them, and constitute an upper house. This proposition, however, was immediately rejected, and a numerous and respectable body contended for an union with the third-estate; but all further proceedings were prevented in consequence of an extraordinary step on the part of the king.

His majesty having repaired to Marly for eight days, several of the grandees took advantage of the absence of the comptroller-general, to produce an entire change on the royal mind. Accordingly, when the deputies of the commons were repairing to their hall, where they were to have been joined by a large portion of the clergy, a proclamation, read

---

cuses qu'elles auroient pour base un principe constitutionel & à jamais sacré, authentiquement reconnu par le roi, & solemnellement proclamé par toutes les assemblées de la nation, principe qui interdit toutes levées de deniers & de contributions dans le royaume sans le consentiment formel des représentans de la nation;

" Considérant qu'en effet les contributions, telles qu'elles se perçoivent actuellement dans le royaume, n'ayant point été consenties par la nation, sont toutes illégales, & par conséquent nulles dans leur création, extention, ou prorogation:

" Declare, consentir provisoirement pour la nation, que les impôts & contributions, quoiqu'illégalement établis & perçus, continuent d'être levés de la même manière qu'ils l'ont été précédemment, & jusqu'au jour seulement de la première séperation de cette assemblée, de quelque cause qu'elle puisse prevenir;

" Passe lequel jour, l'assemblée nationale entend & décrete que toutes les levées d'impots, &c. cesser ont entièrement.

" L'assemblée s'empresse aussi de déclarer, qu'aussitôt quelle aura, de concert avec sa majesté, fixé les principes de la régénération nationale, elle s'occupera de l'examen & de la consolidation de la dette publique, mettant dès à présent les créanciers de l'état sous la garde de l'honneur & de la loyauté de la nation Françoise.

" Enfin, &c."

by the heralds at arms, intimated that the debates of the assembly were suspended, and that the king intended on the 22d to hold a *royal session*. This must be allowed to have been an unusual, as well perhaps as an unconstitutional assumption on the part of the executive power; and being wholly unprecedented in the history of the states-general, it led to the most disastrous consequences.

M. Bailly, on repairing to the national hall, found the doors shut and guarded by soldiers: on this, he sent for the count de Vassan, who was the officer on duty, and who said "that he had received positive orders not to permit any one to enter." "I protest against such orders!" exclaimed the president; "and I will give an account of your conduct to the assembly." Some of the members proposed to repair to the terrace of Marly, and invite the king to join them; but by this time M. Bailly, accompanied by the secretaries and a few deputies, was seated in the Tennis-court* of Versailles, and sent an invitation to all the representatives to repair thither. The people electrified by the conduct of their deputies, in their turn excited new zeal by their plaudits; some of the soldiery, partaking of the general enthusiasm, formed a guard of honour at the entrance†, while one of the members who had been confined to his bed, caused himself to be carried into the hall. Nor was the conduct of the assembly unworthy the occasion; for, as if actuated by one general impulse, all the deputies arose and took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France completed. So odious was the conduct of the court, that Mounier‡, one of the most moderate men

---

* This building is situate *rue de Vieux Versailles*.

† Précis de la Révolution Fran. par Rabaut de Saint-Etienne.

‡ Mounier has since asserted, that his reason for proposing this oath, proceeded from a wish to prevent what he considered as a greater evil—the adjournment of the states-general to Paris. It is certain however, that at the period alluded to, he professed himself a friend of *reform*, and was then as much dissatisfied at the measures of the court, as he was afterwards displeased with the proceedings of the assembly. It cannot indeed be denied, that on this and ma-

in the assembly, suggested this measure; that one deputy† only objected to the proceedings; and that upwards of six hundred, after walking through a torrent of rain, solemnly pledged themselves to each other and to the nation, to save their country, and to resist every effort that might be made by tyranny to dissolve them.

The heralds having prorogued the royal session to the 23d of June, to give time for the removal of the galleries destined for the spectators, the third-estate presented the extraordinary spectacle of the representatives of a nation wandering from street to street in search of a proper place to assemble in. The Tennis-court, the scene of their deliberations on the preceding day, was completely filled with spectators: they were once more repulsed with rudeness from their own hall; and the church of the Recollets was found inconvenient. At length they took refuge in that of St. Louis; and on the 22d of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon, their numbers were augmented by one hundred and forty-nine deputies of the clergy, with the archbishop of Vienne and the bishop of Chartres at their head. They were also joined by the marquis of Blacon, and the count d'Augoult, two of the nobility of Dauphiné, a province which had long evinced its love for liberty, and never despaired of the public cause, while it was confided to the care of virtuous men.

On the day appointed, the three orders were assembled by the king's command, and the court appeared with more than usual splendour: but the eyes of the deputies do not appear to have been dazzled by this display of grandeur; neither were their minds terrified by the numerous detachments by which they were surrounded; nor their pride mortified by entering, as before, at a back door, and being exposed to the rain, while the two privileged orders were permitted to

---

ny other occasions the states-general were expressly driven to measures of hostility for their own defence.

† The sole dissentient vote was given by M. Martin, deputy from Castelnaudari; and as he persisted in his opposition, a minute was made of this circumstance in the journals, as a proof of the liberty of opinions.

seat themselves at their ease in the chief places which had been exclusively assigned to them. The speech which the king was advised to deliver on this occasion, was not in the least calculated to give satisfaction to the nation. After lamenting the disputes that had taken place, his majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulling the celebrated decree, by which the commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He, at the same time, alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer on his people; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the states-general in the enaction of laws: on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown—that of *lettres de cachet*—subject, however, to certain restrictions; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal incidents, the most cruel of all the restraints to which any nation can be subjected.

Having thus decided as to the organization of the states-general; exhibited the extent of his inclinations in respect to those reforms, which he appeared to consider as favours; and acted in the presence of the representatives of the nation with the same inconsiderate haughtiness, as if he had presided at a parliamentary bed of justice, or a meeting of the notables; Louis withdrew, having previously commanded the deputies to break up immediately, and repair the following day to their respective chambers.

His majesty was immediately followed by the nobles and the minority of the clergy; but the commons remained motionless; while the workmen, who had received orders to take down the throne, and the other decorations, being appalled by their presence, desisted from their labours. Amidst the awful silence that ensued, M. de Brezé, grand-master of the ceremonies, approached, and intimated the king's orders to retire*; but he in his turn was struck with awe, and withdrew, after receiving a severe rebuke from the count de Mi-

* "Messieurs, vous connoissez les intentions du roi!" "Oui, Monsieur," lui repond M. de Mirabeau, "nous avons entendu les

rabeau, who already began to distinguish himself by the strength and promptitude of his eloquence.

Camus, Barnave, Gregoire, and Petion, names intimately connected with subsequent events, inveighed loudly against the aggression committed on the representatives of the nation; Sieyes, at the same time, delivered his opinion with epigrammatic sententiousness†; and it was instantly and unanimously decreed—"that they persisted in their former resolutions."

No sooner had this been voted, than on the suggestion of Mirabeau, the persons of the deputies were declared sacred and inviolable, by a great and decided majority of four hundred and ninety-three to thirty-four.

The triumph of the commons was now so complete, that forty-seven of the nobles, headed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, repaired to the hall of the states; and on the 27th, the minority of the clergy, and the majority of the nobles, at the express recommendation of the king, followed their example, only four days subsequent to the royal speech, which had prohibited this very junction. No sooner were the people of Versailles made acquainted with this memorable event, than they repaired to the palace, and saluted the royal family with the most grateful acclamations: they then repaired to the house of M. Necker, who had not been present at the royal session, and hailed him as the tutelar divinity of the empire. A general illumination closed the evening.

In the mean time, notwithstanding all these appearances of joy, the most violent councils were recurred to by his majesty's secret advisers; and it cannot be denied, that the first act of perfidy was plotted on the part of the court. Or-

---

intentions qu'on a suggérées au roi; & vous, qui ne sauriez être son organe auprès des états-généraux, vous qui n'avez ici ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes fait pour nous rapeler son discours. Cependant, pour éviter toute equivoque & tout délai, je déclare que si l'on vous a chargé de nous faire sortir d'ici, vous devez demander des ordres pour employer la force, car nous ne quitterons nos places que par la puissance de la bayonette."

† "Messieurs! vous êtes aujourd'hui ce que vous étiez hier."

ders had been for some time issued to collect a large body of troops; and as the French soldiery could not now be depended on, foreigners were preferred to the national regiments. Thirty-five thousand men were already cantoned in the neighbourhood of the capital; twenty thousand more were expected; a formidable train of artillery was provided at a prodigious expence; camps began to be traced out; the commanding eminences were crowned with batteries; the roads and bridges occupied by military posts; and the marshal de Broglio, who had acquired great reputation by his exploits against the enemies of his country, and had become grey under arms, was nominated to the chief command*.

---

* Dumouriez, although at that period in Normandy, was made acquainted with the intentions of government: he disapproved, however, of the military measures, and actually transmitted his own plan to the court.

"The marshal de Broglio," says he, "had crowded his infantry into three or four little camps, very near the city; his cavalry occupied the two plains of Grenelle and St. Denys; and his heavy artillery had already arrived in the latter place. He had only thrown a garrison of fifty Swiss into the Bastille.

"Dumouriez instantly told his friend, that if they persevered in maintaining so absurd and unmilitary a position, they would most assuredly be beaten; that the defection of the French guards ought to serve as an example of the folly of placing the troops so near the women of the town, the seduction of good cheer, and the blandishments of the Palais-royal. He besought him immediately to transmit the following disposition, and to press its adoption if it were still in time:

1. "To garrison the Bastille with a major-general and four battalions, who ought to occupy the arsenal as far as the river, and throw up a trench in their front, to separate them from the suburb St. Antoine, and the quay.

2. "To post five hundred men with cannon in the isle of Louviers, on purpose to produce a cross-fire from the batteries there, at the Bastille and the arsenal, in case the people should attack them by the quays.

3. "To post six battalions behind the first division, with a *corps* of cavalry in the peninsula of St. Maur, occupying Vincennes, so as to succour the Bastille.

4. "To withdraw all the little camps of the *Champ de Mars*, the *Bois de Boulogne*, and the *Champs Élisée*, and assemble them on the heights of St. Cloud, Sevres, and Meudon, with the river before them; and to entrench another *corps* of eight or ten thousand

THE capital, ever jealous of the court, and alarmed at these formidable preparations, was now agitated to an extraordinary degree. A little before the assembling of the states-general, some commotions had taken place there, and a paper manufactory belonging to an ingenious tradesman of the name of Reveillon, falsely accused of starving his workmen, was plundered. The whole odium of the tumult, said to have originated in the perfidy of the abbé Roy, one of the royal censors, and secretary to the count d'Artois, fell entirely on the court, notwithstanding the indemnification presented by his majesty to the sufferer, at the intercession of the comptroller-general of the finances. The soldiers, on this occasion, had acted with the most scrupulous devotion to the will of their officers, and taken signal vengeance on the misled and frantic rabble, by killing such as appeared on the top of the buildings, with ball cartridges, and putting all those found either in the cellars, or the apartments, to death with the bayonet.

IT was generally supposed that the secret advisers of the king intended, by this early instance of military execution, to terrify the Parisians into submission; but the desired effect was not produced. On the contrary, although this event was still fresh in their memory, the people now assembled in prodigious multitudes, in the gardens of the *Palais-royal*, and, dividing into groupes, were addressed by certain persons whom they styled "Orators," with a degree of eloquence that did not fail to please, and even to fascinate. These zealously defended their own rights in those of the assembly, and were accustomed to receive summaries of its proceedings from Versailles, which they read aloud to the multitude; contriving by these means to excite their curiosity, and animate their zeal. The cry of liberty at length

---

men at St. Denys, continuing to occupy the two plains of St. Denys and Grenelle with the cavalry and hussars.

"By these means Paris would have been blockaded, and the king saved; for the first movement made by Dumouriez, would have been to insure the person of Louis XVI."—*La Vie de Dumouriez, t.* I.

became infectious, and extended even to those who had hitherto been the blind supporters of every measure of the court, and had more than once shed the blood of their fellow-subjects without remorse, on the most trifling provocation.

A LARGE body of the soldiery becoming part of the people themselves, in consequence of their long residence in and connection with the capital, began to make a common cause with its inhabitants, and discriminate between the rights of men and the duties of soldiers. Nor were other means of seduction wanting: they were loaded with presents and caresses; they were feasted for whole days and nights in the *Palais-royal*, the residence and property of the duke of Orleans; and to the delights of wine, were added the fascinations of gold, and the blandishments of women. Eleven of them having been confined to the abbey, it was reported that their sole offence consisted in refusing to fire on the citizens; on this they were instantly freed from their bondage by the populace, and led home in triumph: but, on mature deliberation, they suffered themselves to be reconducted to prison, and the national assembly having interceded for their pardon, they were released by his majesty's command. Nor was the defection confined to the military inhabiting the capital alone; for although the hussars and dragoons had received instructions to attack the multitude who had forced the prison, instead of obeying the orders of their superiors, they laid down their arms and joined the insurgents.

NEVERTHELESS the spirit of disaffection had not as yet extended further than Paris, and the most formidable preparations still menaced the speedy dissolution of the national assembly, and even the punishment of some of its members. The life-guards were kept constantly mounted at Versailles; the Swiss were also stationed around the castle; while a body of Germans was posted in the Orangery. The foreign regiments of Royal-Cravate, Royal-Pologne, Helmstatt, Diesback, Salisamade, and Châteauvieux infantry; the hussars of Bercheny, Esterhazy, the royal dragoons, the regiments of Provence and of Vintimille, with those of Besançon and le Fere, were also kept in constant readiness to act. Such was

the formidable body of men destined, with others then on their march, to restore the royal authority to the plenitude of power almost uninterruptedly enjoyed by the monarchs of France, ever since the time of Louis XI.

Nor was the conduct of the king in the least calculated to remove suspicion; for when the deputies, alarmed for their safety, and even for their existence, besought his majesty to withdraw the troops that surrounded them, he observed in reply, that he was willing to remove the assembly to Noyon or Soissons, while he himself would repair to Compeigne: a measure which would have rendered their situation still more precarious and insecure, by placing the members between the army in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the troops collected in Flanders and Alsace.

On the 12th of July, the day after this very ambiguous answer had been returned, Necker, the only minister on whom either the nation or its representatives had any reliance, being suddenly deprived of his office, was sent once more into exile; and the new administration was said to consist of de Breteuil, Foulon, la Galésiere, la Porte, and the marshal de Broglio; all of whom were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient despotism.

While the deputies, incapable of making any resistance, stood aghast, the citizens of Paris were taking measures to alter the destiny of the assembly, the monarch, and the empire. They began by carrying in triumph the busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans, each of whom had been, at different times, the victim of despotism. Being attacked by a patrole of the Royal Allemande, several persons were wounded, but the latter was at length obliged to take refuge in the Tuilleries, where the prince de Lambesc, according to report, struck an old man walking there for his recreation: this little incident produced a prodigious effect on the minds of the people.

As the inhabitants of the capital now apprehended that all their fears were about to be realized, that the national assembly was intended to be dissolved by force, and the chief city of the empire on the point of being invaded by an hostile army, the consternation at first was general. But it was not

succeeded by a panic terror, the produce of despair; on the contrary, a degree of activity and energy ensued, almost incompatible with the habits of a luxurious people, and the situation of an unarmed multitude, devoted, in case they failed, to all the horrors of military execution. It was at this critical period, that Gorsas, then a schoolmaster, and afterwards a deputy, with a stentorian voice, continued to harangue a large body of citizens in one quarter; at the same time that Camille Desmoulins, a celebrated advocate, with a pistol in each hand, addressed an eloquent oration to the surrounding multitude in another; and after being exhausted with fatigue, and rendered unable to proceed, still contrived to articulate the words—"To arms! to arms!"

While the women and children, terrified at the first appearance of the troops, rent the air with their shrieks and lamentations, the alarm bell was rung in every parish; the theatres were shut; cannon were fired by way of signal; some of the citizens barricaded their houses, and prepared to defend themselves against the assailants; while the multitude, unprovided with any certain means of annoyance, rushed into and seized all the arms to be found in the shops of the gun-smiths and armourers, and then proceeded towards the town-house.

On this critical occasion, when every thing depended on the conduct adopted by the French guards, the marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in that corps, repaired to the barracks, and contrived to excite their passions, arouse their ambition, and subdue their fidelity. At nine o'clock in the evening, they accordingly sallied out, when being joined by patroles of armed citizens, as well as by a mob, many of whom carried torches, they attacked and dispersed a company of the Royal Allemande. The fugitives having retreated to the main body of their regiment posted in the *Place de Louis XV.* twelve hundred of the guards repaired to the *Palais-royal*, where they held a council of war, and at length determined, although destitute both of officers and artillery, to give battle to the foreigners. They accordingly commenced their march, obtained a complete victory, obliged them to retreat, drove them before them to the *Boulevards*, and at

length forced all the regular troops to evacuate Paris, and withdraw to Versailles, where they spread dismay and consternation among the adherents of the court, whose projects had thus been anticipated and disconcerted, the evening of the 14th of July having been the day fixed for an attack on the capital.

While the soldiers were thus engaged in a contest with each other, an extraordinary circumstance occurred, which tended not a little to produce and accelerate the catastrophe that ensued. Twenty thousand men, of different nations, and destitute alike of bread and occupation, had been employed in cutting roads over the rugged eminence called Montmarte, and now threatened to plunder the capital. A scarcity approaching to a famine also menaced Paris at the same period; and in addition to this, were superadded the horrors arising from the vicinity of an hostile army. In fact, a banditti had already appeared in the suburbs, and after burning the outlet called the *White Barriers*, began to enter several houses. On this, the necessity of enforcing a project already suggested by Mirabeau, became indispensable for the security of the opulent inhabitants: it was instantly resolved, therefore, without any previous consultation, to form a city militia; and the electors of Paris accordingly assembled the inhabitants in the churches of the sixty districts, in which they had met but four months before for the choice of deputies. The old magistrates were immediately deposed and new ones nominated: the citizens ran in crowds to inscribe their names as defenders of their country. M. de Salle, on the refusal of M. d'Aumont, was voted to the command: permanent committees were established; and red and blue ribbands adopted as distinctive marks. Arms being still wanting, upwards of thirty thousand men marched to the hospital of the invalids, seized on the artillery, and obtained possession of about fifty thousand muskets, sabres, and pikes, which had been concealed there.

The citizens were immediately marshalled, and more than sixty thousand enrolled and distributed into companies: patroles were established in every district: the serjeants and grenadiers of the French guards were appointed officers:

cannon were immediately posted on the Pont-neuf, the Pont-royal, and in all the avenues leading to Versailles; while the *Place Dauphiné*, admirably situate for this purpose, was provided with a numerous artillery, and became the head-quarters of the patriotic army, as it now began to be called.

The revolution had thus actually commenced, yet the spirit of insurrection would have been soon subdued, but for a bold and audacious enterprise, that disconcerted the measures of a feeble court, and enabled an undisciplined populace, with the aid of a few companies of regulars, to shake the throne to its foundations, and terrify a king surrounded by one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, nearly one-fourth of whom were foreigners, into immediate submission.

Some unknown individual, on the morning of the 14th of July, after attracting the attention of the citizens, exclaimed —"Let us take the *Bastille!*" The name of this fortress, which recalled to the memory of the people every thing hateful and odious in the ancient despotism, operated with all the effect of electricity. The cry of "To the Bastille!" resounded from rank to rank, from street to street, from the Palais-royal to the suburbs of St. Antoine. An army, composed of citizens and soldiers, provided with pikes forged during the night, with muskets procured at the Invalids, with gilded lances and battle-axes, snatched from the *Garde Meuble*, was immediately formed. The French guards were prevailed upon to join this motley crew; and the close order of their march, their shining firelocks, their military appearance, and their cannon, while they exhibited a striking contrast to their party-coloured allies, afforded the only reasonable hope of reducing a fortress, hitherto terrible to the Parisians, and which since the time of the cruel Louis XI. had been accustomed to receive and to devour the victims of royal despotism. Deputations from the *Hotel de Ville*; an astonishing crowd in motion from the vicinity; a body of armed men in front, and troops marching to their support from all parts of an immense capital; at once served to puzzle, perplex, and intimidate de Launay the governor, who sometimes parleys, and sometimes fights with the assailants.

At length Louis Tournay, formerly a private in the regiment of Dauphiné, scrambled over the guard-house, and by means of an hatchet forced the first draw-bridge. Others, at the same time, broke open the outer gate and entered the court; but being driven out by the fire of the garrison, several were killed on the spot. On this the assailants, becoming furious, brought up three waggons loaded with straw, set fire to them, and by their means to the outworks. At that critical period arrived a detachment of the grenadiers of Ruffeville, and fusileers of Lubersac, commanded by two non-commissioned officers; Wargnier, serjeant-major; and Labarthe, serjeant of grenadiers: these were followed by a numerous body of burghers, under the command of a citizen of the name of Hulin, who had prevailed upon the French guards to march to the assistance of the multitude.

No sooner had this reinforcement made its appearance, than it was joined by some of the invalids: two four-pounders, a mortar, and a cannon plated with silver, which was found in the *Garde Meuble*, form a battery in front; another was constructed at the passage of Les Diguieres; a third at the postern, which communicates with the garden of the arsenal: the gates were at length forced, the besiegers enter, and a castle is taken by storm in less than four hours, which had menaced France for nearly as many ages; and which an army, headed by the great Condé, had formerly besieged in vain during three-and-twenty days!

De Launay, whose name had been long odious to the Parisians, was put to death in his way to the town-house; M. de Losme, the major, a man of great humanity, unhappily experienced a similar fate; Requart, a subaltern officer, who had prevented the governor from setting fire to the powder magazine, was also killed; and the whole garrison would perhaps have been sacrificed by an enraged populace, had it not been for the generous intervention of the French guards, who petitioned for, and obtained mercy.

In the mean time, de Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, having been accused of a conspiracy, escaped from the Hôtel de Ville, but was shot in the Place de Grève, and his head carried about in procession with that of the gover-

nor of the Bastille :—a horrid kind of spectacle, which at length accustomed the people to the spilling of human blood, let loose all the furies of vengeance and proscription, and tended not a little to tarnish the glories of this memorable day!

During these proceedings, the assembly, after having in vain petitioned the king for the removal of the troops, and declared the new ministers responsible for all the disasters that might ensue, proclaimed that M. Necker carried along with him the regret and esteem of the nation, and remained for two days and two nights without adjournment. At length the joyful intelligence arrived of the warlike attitude of the Parisians, the capture of the Bastille, and the preparations for forming a strong and powerful army within the walls of the city. These events, which had been carefully concealed from the unfortunate but weak and credulous monarch, although they occurred at seven in the afternoon, were first communicated to him by the duke de Liancourt, who repaired to his chamber at midnight, and made him acquainted with the situation of the capital!

On the succeeding morning his majesty repaired to the assembly, and intimated that he had given orders for the retreat of the troops; on this a deputation of eighty-four members was sent to communicate the intelligence to the citizens, who now elected M. Bailly mayor of Paris, and intrusted the command of the national guards to the marquis de la Fayette.

The Bastille was immediately devoted to destruction: the unhappy prisoners* were released; some were carried

---

* Here follows a list of the prisoners:

1. Tavernier,
2. Pujade,
3. La Roche,
4. The count de Solages,
5. De Whyte, supposed to be an Englishman,
6. La Caurege, and
7. Bechadé.

The mildness of the government has been inferred from the small number of unhappy persons liberated on this occasion; but it ought to be recollected, that the amiable and virtuous Malesherbes had but a little before solicited and obtained a commssion for releasing such as were the victims of despotism; and that, in addition

through the principal streets in triumph ; the instruments of torture were dragged from the dungeons and exposed to day, and the destiny of the monarch and the monarchy seemed to be already decided.

SECTION VII.

THE fate of the Bastille, so important in other respects, involved in it that of a prince of the blood, and a number of the nobility, hitherto invariably attached to the royal family and cause. Participating in the preparations that had been made to reduce Paris, and either intimidate or dissolve the assembly, they learned with equal indignation and surprise, that the fable of the ancients had been realised, and an immense military force, completely armed, accoutred and equipped, had arisen in the course of a single night out of the earth, and was crying aloud for vengeance. The troops, on whose fidelity the authority of the monarchy was founded, were beheld by them in a state of mutiny ; even the foreign mercenaries, alarmed at their own critical situation, were afraid to engage in the horrors of a civil war, during which they could not expect quarter.

THEY also considered themselves as abandoned by the king, who had now adopted the patriotic cockade in consequence of a visit to the capital, and with whose timidity and irresolution they were but too well acquainted ; nothing,

---

to the Bastille, the ministers were accustomed to commit those whom they either feared or suspected, to Pierre-en-Cise, the castles of Ham and Joux, the isles of St. Marguerite, the *maisons de force* of Château-Thierry, Rouen, Mont St. Michel, Charenton, &c.

It may not be amiss also to remind such as are friendly to a system of *secret imprisonment* in this country, on account of political opinions, or delinquencies (a recent custom in express opposition to the mild spirit of the English laws) that it appears clearly from the annals of the Bastille, that insanity or idiotism generally ensued : of the seven prisoners enumerated above, two were actually sent to a mad-house.

in short, but a speedy flight seemed calculated to save them from immediate destruction. The count d'Artois, the presumptive heir of the throne, having been informed that a price was set upon his head by the Parisians, escaped with his two sons during the night, and deemed himself fortunate in having eluded the vengeance of his countrymen. The marshal de Broglio, whose name had been once dear to his country, retreated with part of his army, now on its march to the frontiers, and every where assailed with stones and menaces by the people; under its protection he at length found refuge in the dominions of the house of Austria. Breteuil, who had enjoyed the confidence of the queen, and occupied a high situation in the government, betook himself also to flight. The princes of Condé and Conti, as well as the dukes de Luxemburgh and Vauguion, quickly followed; and these were speedily succeeded by the abbés de Calonne and Maury, Cazales, and d'Eprémesnil, the three last of whom were stopped, and obliged to return.

It was in vain that Foulon, an unpopular contractor, made use of a stratagem, and had recourse even to a suppositious burial, with a view of concealing himself: the place of his retreat was discovered by his own tenants, by whom he was hated, and he was conducted to Paris with his neck surrounded by a collar of nettles, a bunch of thistles stuck in his bosom by way of nosegay, and a truss of hay fastened to his back. Notwithstanding the prayers and intreaties of Bailly and la Fayette, he was put to death by a frantic mob, while his son-in-law, Berthier, is said to have fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of an exasperated individual. The duchess de Polignac, who had long enjoyed the queen's confidence, disguising herself like a chambermaid, after experiencing a variety of obstacles, at length found herself safe at Basle, and was the first to announce to M. Necker, whom she met there, the changes that had taken place in France. She also informed the exiled minister, that couriers had been dispatched with letters from the national assembly and the king, inviting him to return. He accordingly set out on his journey, which seemed to be a continual triumph, and was lucky enough to preserve the life of M. de Bezen-

val, commander of the Swiss troops, who was exposed to the fury of the Parisians, in consequence of an intercepted letter, in which he had issued orders to de Launay to defend the Bastille to the last extremity.

In the mean time, while the assembly was yet uncertain of its own fate, and that of the nation, it had determined, in case of the worst, to leave behind it a monument of its patriotism and zeal. The following celebrated "Declaration of Rights" was accordingly voted, after three different plans had been submitted by la Fayette, Mounier, and Sieyes, and at length obtained the sanction of the king:

The representatives of the people of France, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes, and the corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable rights; that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the social body, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties; that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, thus rendered capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also, that the future claims of the citizens being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness:

For these reasons the national assembly doth recognize and declare in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following sacred rights of men and of citizens:

I. Men were born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect to their rights; civil distinctions, therefore, can be only founded on public utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and the resistance of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. POLITICAL liberty consists in the power of doing whatever doth not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable alone by the law.

V. THE law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. THE law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and he renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. THE law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. EVERY man being presumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. THE unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every ci-

tizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of his liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A PUBLIC force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is intrusted.

XIII. A COMMON contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. EVERY citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. EVERY community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. EVERY community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. THE right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

THE attention of the assembly was now suddenly diverted from the formation of a constitutional code, to the unhappy situation of the empire in consequence of the anarchy that succeeded the extinction of the ancient despotism, and for which it was found difficult to administer any immediate or effectual relief. It is truly lamentable, that among the many ills originating from, or inherent in slavery, it renders its victims long unfit for the enjoyment of the very blessings they have panted after; and that the enfranchised bondman, like the miserable prisoner long immured in a gloomy dungeon, is utterly unable at first to enjoy the genial light of liberty. We accordingly find, that the vassalage of several centuries had steeled the hearts of a great portion of the nation to humanity, and instead of deriving happiness from the transition, many dreamed only of avenging the wrongs of ages in the blood of

their oppressors, and obtaining that wealth from plunder, of which they had hitherto been deprived the chance of acquiring, by prejudice and injustice.

All the great cities were at the same time agitated by the dread of famine, and the necessities of the populace, fanaticised by the spirit of the times, and unfortunately mistaking licence for liberty; while Paris, the cradle of the revolution, contained a prodigious number of individuals, whose daily subsistence arose from fraud and violence alone. The peasantry, but too long oppressed by their lords, seemed to consider this as a favourable opportunity for making reprisals: unhappily they were not content with the liberation of themselves and children from manerial servitude. Many of the castles of the nobles were accordingly attacked, pillaged, and burned; while they themselves, with their wives and their offspring, by a sad reverse, were now exposed to the insults, the menaces, and sometimes even the vengeance of the unhappy villagers, whom they had irritated into madness. Many instances occurred, however, in which a generous oblivion ensued, and in a few or no cases did the good and beneficent landholder experience ingratitude as a retribution for his benevolence.

The assembly, fully impressed with the necessity of restoring peace and tranquillity, passed a decree on the evening of the 4th of August, '89, enjoining the taxes to be paid as usual, and enforcing the law for the security of persons and of property. But in the course of that celebrated night a memorable measure was proposed and carried, and to the honour of the nobles, it must be acknowledged to have originated with them. The vicomte de Noailles, in a generous burst of patriotism, declared, that the only way to allay the effervescence that had taken place in the provinces, was to suppress the most odious of the feudal claims, to abolish personal servitude, and receive a compensation in money for those rights that had any foundation in justice. The duke d'Aiguillon, who possessed extensive royalties, complained of the oppression of the sub-delegates or stewards, the judges, the gamekeepers, and the agents, of the great proprietors, who not unfrequently ruined the vassals of their lords, by employing

all the rigours of the feudal laws on purpose to oppress them; he at the same time, in his own name, and that of his order, cheerfully renounced the pecuniary exemptions hitherto claimed by the nobles, and moved that the imposts should be levied on all men in proportion to their property.

M. LE GUEN DE KERANGALL exclaimed against *bannalites*, *franc-fiefs*, *corvées*, *grueries*, *main-mortes*, and all the barbarous jargon introduced by the feudal laws; he deprecated the exercise of certain pretended rights that were an outrage to modesty and humanity; and he expressed his horror at those caprices of the ancient tyranny, which required that men should be harnessed to waggons instead of cattle, or obliged to pass whole nights in preventing the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their voluptuous lords. This speech was frequently interrupted by loud and general plaudits; but when M. la Poule spoke of *mortmain*,, both real and personal, of the obligation imposed by some lords on their wretched vassals, to feed and maintain their dogs, and the dreadful cruelties formerly practised in certain cantons by the nobles after their return from the chace*—a cry of horror and indignation was heard from all parts of the hall!

THE duke de Chatelet insisted on the propriety of converting tithes in kind into money rents. The bishop of Nanci, in the name of the clergy, who had been hitherto silent, acceded to this proposition; the bishop of Chartres, who possessed several forests, after condemning the tyranny of those customs which force the farmer to be a silent spectator of the ravages committed on the fruits of his industry, proposed

---

* I have avoided the mention of the atrocious circumstance here alluded to in the text, as it had been doubtless obsolete for ages, and it is to be hoped, for the honour of humanity, was never enforced: & de cet horrible droit, rélégué sans doute depuis des siècles dans les poudreux moumens de la barberie de nos pères, par lequel le seigneur étoit autorisé dans certains cantons à faire éventrer deux de ses vassaux à son rétour de la chasse, pour se délasser en mettant ses pieds dans le corps sanglant de ces malheureux. Whoever wishes to become acquainted with the proceedings of this memorable evening, ought to consult the *procès-verbal*, drawn up by M. Frétau.

the abolition of the exclusive rights of the chace and the game laws; on this the duke de Mortemart testified his own assent and that of the nobles. M. de St. Fargeau next insisted that the clergy and nobility should resign their pecuniary exemptions; one member moved for the suppression of warrens, another of private fisheries; not a single dissentient voice was heard: M. de Riché proposed that judicial offices should be no longer venal, but that justice should henceforth be administered gratuitously; the count de Virieux was for relinquishing the privilege of dove-cots; the duke de la Rochefoucaud requested the complete enfranchisement of the bondsmen throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, and the melioration of the fate of the unhappy negroes detained in slavery by avarice in another hemisphere. Nay, such was the enthusiasm that pervaded the assembly on this occasion, that some ecclesiastics, possessed of several benefices, declared that they would henceforth confine themselves to one, in conformity to the canons; while the parish priests consented with joy to the abolition of their fees.

At the same time the deputies of Dauphiné, Britanny, Provence, Burgundy, and Languedoc, resigned the privileges claimed by their respective provinces; the representatives of the cities of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and Strasburg, transported with a generous emulation, renounced their exclusive claims, and declared that henceforth in France there should be but one law, one nation, one family, and one honourable title—that of a French citizen.

On the succeeding day it was suggested, that as tithes operated in the manner of a premium against agriculture and a tax upon industry, that they should be immediately suppressed; this was at first strenuously opposed by the clergy, particularly by the abbé Sieyes, but the eloquence of Mirabeau and Chasset finally prevailed; and the arch bishop of Paris at length consented in the name of his brethren, with a good grace, to what had become inevitable. After this a solemn *Te Deum* being chaunted, the benediction of religion was bestowed, for the first time, on regenerated France, and Louis XVI. complemented with the title of "The Restorer of Liberty."

Money, however, was still wanting for the usual operations of government. M. Necker therefore proposed a loan of thirty millions of livres, at five per cent.; but the assembly, confiding in the credit of the nation, reduced the interest to four and a half, in consequence of which the project miscarried: another of a similar kind being substituted, forty millions only out of eighty were subscribed. On this, patriotic gifts were recurred to; these, however, although numerous, proved ineffectual. At length the comptroller-general, relying on his popularity, suggested a measure that would have startled a Sully or a Colbert, and which could only have been tolerated from a hope of liberty; this was the extraordinary contribution of the fourth of the revenue of each subject, the estimate of which was left entirely to his own conscience.

The next object that engaged the attention of this body was the constitution, and after a variety of long and interesting debates, biennial legislatures were agreed to; the *suspensive veto* on all laws was granted to the king; and the representatives were to form but one chamber, eighty-nine members only out of a thousand having voted for two houses, in imitation of the parliament of England.

The national assembly had by this time acquired an ascendancy over the nation, and its popularity was daily increasing both in the capital and the provinces; in short, although a great difference of opinion subsisted among the members, no serious reproach had hitherto been incurred. His majesty, however, yielding either to the bias of his advisers, or the weakness of his own judgment, in a long letter, addressed to the legislative body, stated his reasons at length for refusing his full assent to the proceedings of the 4th of August, which had overturned the feudal system, annihilated tithes, and abolished the tribute hitherto paid to the court of Rome, by far the most popular and useful measures that had been as yet adopted: this argumentative composition was resented as an attempt to influence the legislature, by entering into a discussion of laws which he had been called upon simply to approve or reject, and contributed not a little, by the suspicions it aroused, to the terrible catastrophe that ensued. A

report also prevailed, which has been since countenanced by subsequent events, that at the instigation of his consort, the king was about to remove to Metz, in Lorraine, and attempt a counter-revolution by means of the army on the frontiers. In the mean time the court affected to be alarmed for its safety, and not content with four thousand of the national militia, headed by a nobleman* devoted to it, the Swiss troops on duty, and the body-guards, who had been doubled, determined to call in the assistance of a *corps* of foreign mercenaries, the very name of whom had become odious in France.

The regiment of Flanders was accordingly sent for. The king testified his satisfaction at this measure, and soon after its arrival the *gardes du corps*, composed of nobles only, who had never worn the national cockade, and were the only troops in France that had not taken the *civic oath*, invited the officers and several of the military men to a banquet, which was remarkable on several accounts, particularly as being unprecedented in the first place, and in the next, as being given in one of the principal apartments of the castle of Versailles. After the health of the royal family had been drank, that of the nation was proposed, and refused. On this, Louis XVI. having entered, accompanied by her majesty, leading the dauphin by the hand, the royal family was received with loud acclamations, in presence of the Swiss guards and other troops who lined the hall.

After they had walked round the table, and saluted the guests, they prepared to retire, on which the bands belonging to the guards and the regiment of Flanders immediately played an air† considered for some time past as a signal of disaffection. At length the officers, inebriated with wine, are said to have trod the national colours under foot, while M. de Perceval, aide-du-camp to the count d'Estaing, scaling a balcony, provided white cockades for himself, and distributed others to those around him. These *orgies*, as the patriots termed them, continued until the morning, and were

---

* M. d'Estaing.

† "O Richard, O mon roi!"

repeated next day, when the number of guests was increased, and the same ridiculous scenes and impotent menaces renewed.

Petion was the first to denounce this entertainment, under the name of a plot, to the national assembly; and Mirabeau, after declaring, if the king's person alone were considered as sacred, that he would bring forward an impeachment himself against two conspicuous characters, informed those around him, after he had sat down, that the queen and the duke de Guiche, colonel of the life-guards, were the objects to whom he alluded.

But while the rage of the *left-hand* side of the assembly, where the democratical leaders were seated, evaporated in ineffectual suspicions and empty threats, it was far otherwise with the inhabitants of Paris, who were goaded on by a famine, which they were taught to consider as an artifice of the court, and possessed both the desire and the means of vengeance. The commotion began among the women, who ran about crying out "Bread! bread!" on the morning of the 5th of October. Seizing on a person of the name of Maillard, they forced him to be their conductor; and being joined by a multitude of armed men, and followed by a company of the volunteers of the Bastille, and several cannon, they set out for Versailles. The national guards, actuated by a similar impulse, insisted on marching thither also; and la Fayette, after obtaining the sanction of the municipality, deemed it prudent to accede to the proposition. He was unable, however, to prevent the events that ensued; for some of the mob having burst into the castle, sacrificed two of the body guards to their fury, and the life of the queen was perhaps saved by the gallantry of a third, called Miomandre, for the name of that princess was now generally execrated: her majesty, however, soon after appeared at a balcony, protected by the presence of her consort, and still more by that of the dauphin, whom she held in her arms: the guards also, for the first time, placed the national cockade in their hats, and supplicated for mercy. On this the popular fury seemed to subside, but the cry of "To Paris! to Paris!" clearly intimated their intentions, and his majesty thought proper to

comply. The king accordingly repaired thither, preceded by an executioner*, between two wretches, each carrying a bloody head on a pike, accompanied by an immense mob, a deputation of two hundred members of the national assembly, the troops of Paris, and the French guards, who had prevented much violence and bloodshed.

This must be allowed to have been one of the most singular events that have occurred during the whole revolution; for though it had all the appearance of a conspiracy, and the duke of Orleans, and the count de Mirabeau, were said to be implicated in it, and even to have assisted in disguise; yet when the châtelet, a tribunal that could not be supposed favourable to them, took cognisance of the affair, they were both acquitted, and the whole proceeding remains involved in a mystery, that can never be solved in any other way, but by supposing the insurrection to have originated solely with the populace of the capital, who were undoubtedly agitated by want, and inflamed by suspicion, to an unusual degree of violence†.

---

* This ruffian, a self-constituted executioner, of the name of Nicolas, who exhibited a most hideous aspect, wore a long beard, and a high-crowned hat; his hair, his garments, his hands, his face, and his axe, were all smeared with the blood of Desuttes and Varicour, two of the body guards. La Fayette, and many others, attempted in vain to banish this horrid and disgusting spectacle: the Parisian guards, however, placed the rest of the *gardes de corps* under the protection of their colours, and thus conducted them in safety to the capital.

† It is no less surprising than true, that Louis XV. actually *sold* a monopoly of corn in France, to a company established for that purpose, on the 12th of July, 1767; this speculation, known by the name of *le bail de l'Averdi*, and generally termed the compact of famine *(un vrai pacte de famine)*, was denounced by the parliaments of Rouen and Grenoble, as an infamous traffic; but both the members and their remonstrances were consigned to the Bastille. It was reported that this monopoly was to have been resumed, and firmly believed by the populace that the court had once more produced the famine.

On their return from Versailles, the populace accordingly exclaimed during the intervals between those songs, in which they treated the daughter of Maria Theresa as a Messalina, that they

Mounier, Lally Tolendal, and a number of other distinguished leaders who had lately attached themselves to the king, and acquired additional hatred by being considered as at once deserters and royalists, on seeing no prospect of success in consequence of the weakness of the monarch, now ceased to appear in the assembly ; that body, however, continued during the remainder of the year to proceed with vigour and dispatch, in the great business of the formation of a constitution. Having once more declared the persons of the deputies sacred and inviolable, rigorous measures were adopted against sedition, which produced what has been termed " the massacre of the *Champ de Mars*," and led to the death of Bailly and the disgrace of la Fayette.

France was divided into eighty-three departments : a number of important decrees were passed ; the municipalities and primary assemblies were organised : the qualification of electors was fixed ; provisional laws were enacted relative to criminal jurisprudence ; *lettres de cachet*, the most terrible engine of the ancient despotism, were abolished ; the *livre rouge*, containing a disgraceful list of peculations, robberies, and misapplications of the publie money, was produced and published ; the pay of the army was augmented ; the navy was placed on a more economical establishment ; the sale of offices was abolished ; in short, the remnant of the feudal system was utterly annihilated ; privileges of all kinds ceased to exist ; the *gabelle*, and other obnoxious taxes, were rescinded, and all distinction of orders for ever abolished.

The finances, however, were still in a deplorable situation ; but the most vigorous and effectual means were now taken to lessen the enormous debt with which France was overwhelmed, to inspire the public creditor with new hopes, and to prevent the long-threatened horrors of a national bankruptcy. The grand measure recurred to on this occasion, was to declare the territorial possessions of the clergy and

---

should be no longer destitute of bread : (" Nous ne manquerons plus de pain ; nous amenerons le boulanger, & la boulangère !" and they seemed to be confirmed in their suspicions by the plenty that ensued for some days after.

the monastic orders at the disposal of the nation; subject, however, to the charge of providing for the expences of public worship, the maintenance of the ministers of religion, the monks, the nuns, and the poor: it was accordingly decreed, that no parish priest should have less than twelve hundred livres a-year, besides the parsonage-house and glebe. On this new and immense fund written assignations were given, which obtained the name of *assignats;* and, lest the court of Rome should support the pretensions of the national clergy, who now began to exhibit the most marked discontent, great policy was displayed in respect to the pope, who was recognised as the head of the christian church in spiritual concerns, while a strict fidelity to the religion of their forefathers was loudly proclaimed.

The king had already repaired suddenly, voluntarily, and unexpectedly, to the assembly, and declared his assent to the principles of the constitution;—a measure that disconcerted for a while the machinations of its enemies; while the representatives proceeded in their victorious career, by decreeing mural crowns to the heroes of the Bastille, ordering the figures of the conquered nations to be unchained from the pedestal of the haughty Louis XIV. proclaiming that the French people would never undertake war from a spirit of conquest, and attaching the inhabitants of Corsica to France, by constituting that island a separate department. There was one decree, however, that endeared them more, perhaps, than any other to the bulk of the people: this was the abolition of titles*, armorial bearings, and liveries; and it ought not to be forgotten that it originated with the privileged order. The general joy proceeded from the hatred to feudal privileges; but the measure itself has since been deemed equivocal by some, the nobles, considered as a body, being thus rendered enemies to the new government, and the authors of the civil and foreign wars that ensued: had a balance of powers taken place, and the safety of the state been provided for by a separate chamber, and the vanity of birth gratifi-

* See Appendix, vol. I. A.

ed by a seat there, much misery, blood, and calamity, might perhaps have been avoided, and a powerful and opulent body interested in the preservation of the liberties of France. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the number of nobles attached to the cause of freedom was by no means commensurate with their talents and abilities; that a decided majority was devoted to the ancient government with all its abuses, and determined to reconquer their lands, titles, and claims, in the same manner their ancestors had originally acquired them, by means of their swords.

But the nation at this moment was nearly frantic with joy, in consequence of its deliverance from regal and from feudal bondage; and had prepared to celebrate the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, the epoch whence France now dated her liberties. In that plain where, but one year before, a formidable assemblage of troops had menaced the capital with ruin, appeared deputations from all the national guards, and all the regular troops, infantry, cavalry, marines, and foreign soldiers, in the kingdom, in addition to three hundred thousand spectators of both sexes. The king, the representatives, two thousand musicians, two hundred priests clothed in white surplices, ornamented with three-coloured ribbands, and preceded by the bishop of Autun dressed in his episcopal robes, tended not a little to add dignity to this grand and imposing scene; at the close of which the monarch, the national assembly, and armed citizens, took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution.

In the mean time the spirit of anarchy and disorganisation which had overspread the kingdom, and extended to the army and navy, at length reached the colonies; in St. Domingo in particular, the free mulattoes, who composed a large portion of the population, relying on the hopes held out by the assembly, began to consider themselves as men, and even to aspire to the rights of citizens, which they conceived themselves expressly entitled to. The white inhabitants, struck with horror at the idea of an equality of rights, on the part of those whom they had hitherto treated with a mortifying contempt, and whose relations by the female side were still exposed to the most rigorous bondage, denied a

participation in the elections; both parties on this sent deputies to the mother country; and the pride of the planters, and the pertinacity of the men of colour, at length reduced the most flourishing colony belonging to Europe, to desolation, distraction, and dismay.

FRANCE herself was also destined to experience fresh broils, and become a prey to new miseries. Disturbances of a dangerous nature had already taken place in several of the southern departments: an insurrection followed by a massacre, occurred in the town of Douai; another sedition had broken out at Nantz; serious commotions were threatened in Bastia; murders of the most frightful nature were perpetrated in the Venaissin and Limousin. The provincial nobility were discontented at being deprived of their titles, their game laws, their feudal claims, and the long catalogue of pretensions, by which they had been enabled to harass and oppress their unhappy vassals. Another numerous and powerful body was also disaffected. A schism had actually taken place in the Gallican church, the vacancies in which were to be henceforth filled up by the free choice of the people. The ecclesiastical body having been re-organised in conformity to the principles of the constitution, it was required of each individual to take the civic oath, and swear to maintain the civil institution of the clergy. Many honest and well-meaning men insisted, that this operated as a restraint on the liberty of conscience, and refused to subscribe: a measure so impolitic, rendered a multitude of them disaffected; and as they still possessed great influence over the minds of their parishioners, especially in the distant provinces, the most dangerous commotions ensued. Multitudes of the peasantry were taught, at length, to curse the revolution that had emancipated them; they sided with the nonjuring priests, whom they saw persecuted by such of their brethren as had taken the oaths, and every where pursued by the civil and military power; in short, in consequence of the union of the clergy and the nobility in Britanny and Poitou, the minds of the people were so fanaticised, that the insurrection and civil war of *La Vendée* at length became inevitable.

In the mean time the conduct of the king was calculated to produce general dissatisfaction. M. Necker, once the favourite of the nation, finding himself unable to contend with the tempest, had retired to his estate in Switzerland, and none of the other members of the administration possessed the confidence of the people. His majesty was surrounded by men whose principles were hostile to the revolution; his secret advisers had long been objects of suspicion; his queen had become still more unpopular than before; and to conclude the whole, his confessor was chosen from that class of priests which had received the appellation of *refractory*. Deprived by a sudden death of the assistance of Mirabeau, who had been gained by money, he was at present meditating a scheme, in which, if he succeeded, the nation muſt have encountered all the horrors of a foreign, and perhaps a civil war; on the other hand, if he failed, he exposed himself and his family to the certain indignation of the people. The Parisians had long entertained suspicions of the intended departure of Louis XVI. and Bailly the mayor, and la Fayette the commanding officer of the national guard, were repeatedly cautioned on this subject. At length, the king, queen, their children, and madame Elizabeth, fled from the capital, and took the road to Montmedy, with a passport provided by the joint agency of Montmorin the minister for foreign affairs, and M. de Semolin the ambassador from Russia, her majesty personating the Baroness de Knoff, and her consort that of superintendant of her family. No obstacle intervened until their arrival at Varennes, when Louis XVI. was recognised by Drouet the post-master of St. Menehould, and detained in consequence of his zeal. Paul le Blanc and Joseph Poncin, two national guards, were the first to stop the carriage, which was drawn by six horses, and accompanied by three out-riders. Having been prevailed upon to alight at the house of Sausse, a tallow-chandler, his majesty asked for refreshments, and was entertained with some cheese and a bottle of burgundy, which he declared to be excellent. While in this critical situation he thus regaled himself, seemingly at his ease, an escort of hussars came to his assistance from Varennes; but Drouet contrived to keep them in awe by means of a dozen

of the national guard, until the arrival of a numerous detachment of that body from Clermont, when the king was reconducted on his way back to the capital, in the face of a large body of the Royal-Allemand, with the son of general Bouillé at its head. His majesty's brother, *Monsieur*, was, however, more fortunate, for he fled nearly at the same time, and arrived at Mons, without experiencing any interruption.

A GENERAL sentiment of surprise, mingled with indignation, pervaded Paris, on learning the flight of Louis; and had an Orleans faction actually existed, and the descendant of Henry IV. aspired to the crown, a favourable opportunity now presented itself of placing that prince upon the throne.

BUT sentiments of a far different kind prevailed; and the capital, after recovering from the first shock, exhibited the same degree of courage and resolution that it had evinced two years before when its citizens marched against the Bastille. By one common consent, the effigies of the king and queen were every where effaced, and by the evening of that very day all the vestiges of royalty had been destroyed. Every eye and every heart was fixed upon the national assembly, which displayed great firmness, and never once adjourned during the space of a whole week. The national guards having assembled in their respective districts, marched with their colours, and took an oath of fidelity to the nation; the citizens of Paris also were eager to follow the example, and for the space of three whole hours they walked in procession through the hall, and testified their reliance on, and their adherence to, the representatives of the people. Instead of the anarchy and confusion that had been expected, tranquillity reigned throughout the empire: two houses, constituting part of the national domains, were actually put up and sold on the 20th of June, at double the price which they had been estimated at; all the departments offered levies of men; and from the shores of Calais to the Pyrenéan mountains, France exhibited the most unequivocal signs of confidence and security.

AT length the royal family approached the capital, conducted by the citizens of Varennes, and surrounded by an immense body of national guards. More than half a million of

spectators filled the streets and squares as the captive monarch passed along to the Tuilleries, but neither reproaches nor murmurs were heard this day; on the contrary, a sullen silence prevailed; not a single hand was uplifted to express joy; every head remained covered, and the sovereign was already dethroned in the hearts of his subjects.

MANY were now of opinion, that the king, who had abandoned his people, ought to be deposed by them; some even wished that he might be tried and punished; but the assembly acted upon this occasion with great magnanimity, and an act of oblivion took place. In order to prevent further tumult, it declared, that "the revolution was complete;" it also revised its former decrees, compleated the constitutional act, removed the suspension imposed on his majesty, and left him at full liberty either to accept or refuse it.

THE king addressed the assembly by letter, on the 13th of September, '91, and stated that he had given his sanction; on the succeeding day he repaired in person to the hall, and affixed his signature: a decree was accordingly issued, by which it was enjoined that the king's solemn declaration should be proclaimed throughout the empire, and that all prisoners confined for debt should be set at liberty.

SOON after this, the legislature having concluded the object of its mission, and afforded a prospect of freedom to the nation, dissolved itself on the 30th of the same month, the president having proclaimed "that the national assembly declares its power to be at an end, and that it will sit no longer."

THUS ended the labours of the first, commonly called the constituting assembly, which possessed a number of distinguished members, and a collection of talents scarcely to be surpassed in the annals of any nation upon earth.

GARAT had distinguished himself by his writings and his love of liberty, anterior to the convocation of the states-general: he now acquired popularity by his political disquisitions.

RABAUT, a protesant pastor, possessed an unsullied character, a vigorous mind, an inflexible attachment to virtue, and was destined to become the historian of a revolution which he had so warmly espoused.

Sieyes, a catholic priest, was at once a profound metaphysician, and an adept in logic.

Mounier, a man well versed in the arts of government, had already acquired considerable celebrity in the states of Dauphiny, by his eloquence and his attachment to freedom; he also displayed great talents during this tumultuous period, and remained firm to the popular party, until he perceived the monarchy ready to sink under its attacks.

Malouet possessed no small portion of abilities, but these were in some measure rendered useless to a great assembly by the weakness of his voice; he was devoted to royalty, and considered the generous wish of freeing the negroes in the colonies from a cruel bondage as a heinous crime.

Thouret, bred to the bar, was well acquainted with judicial proceedings, and had acquired a happy facility of speech in the course of his professional avocations: but he aspired not to the reputation of an orator, and contented himself with being clear, luminous, and indefatigable.

Gregoire, first a parish priest, and afterwards a bishop, edified by his exemplary morals, at the same time that he inflamed by an eloquence always devoted to the cause of mankind. Although of the ruling religion, he was an advocate for the most unqualified toleration; and he added not a little to his reputation, by a generous interposition in favour of two persecuted classes of men—the Jews of France, and the people of colour and negroes of her colonies.

Talleyrand, by living in habits of familiarity with the most celebrated men of the age, had enhanced his own reputation; yet he acquired less notice by his talents in the pulpit and the tribune, than by his activity in the committees and his facility in the penning popular addresses to the nation.

Lally-Tolendal first distinguished himself by his filial piety in vindicating the memory of a father, who had been condemned to death with circumstances of unexampled barbarity. He possessed a happy delivery, and an admirable choice of words; yet his tongue was less eloquent than his pen, and his writings more persuasive than his speeches.

Barnave was bold, daring, ambitious, enterprising; on

the return of the royal family from Varennes, he sat in the same carriage with the queen, and from that moment abandoned the popular party; it was accordingly asserted, that on this occasion he had been seduced by the blandishments of female beauty, and he fell a martyr soon after at its shrine.

The abbe Maury, since invested with the Roman purple, in addition to a high reputation, had acquired considerable preferment, by the splendour of his clerical talents. From the first moment of his appearance in the states-general, he evinced his gratitude to his benefactors, and displayed an extraordinary degree of intrepidity, zeal, and genius, in defence of the monarchy. Such was his attachment to the ancient government, that he wished to countenance its very abuses; and so wedded was he to the prejudices which had hitherto disgraced his country, that he declaimed against the decree which restored to the Jews and comedians the rights of citizenship. Possessed of a ready wit, he was indebted for his life to a joke*; and his happy talent at unpremeditated oratory, rendered him the second man in the assembly.

Mirabeau was assuredly the first. Possessing wonderful eloquence, a gift in him derived from nature alone, he exhibits the rare example of a man without any previous study displaying all the readiness, all the boldness, all the variety, all the graces of a veteran and accomplished orator. Born a noble, but excluded by his own order, he became a deputy from the *third-estate*, and for some time sustained the popular cause, with a fluency that charmed, with a genius that astonished, with abilities that enraptured, with an enthusiasm that moved, animated, electrified the hearts of all who heard and beheld him. Such was the magic of his oratory, that while he spoke, his audience forgot the scandalous immorality of his life. Such was his good fortune, that, a few short intervals excepted, he retained his celebrity even after he had been corrupted by the court. Such was his confidence, that, with a voice enfeebled by disease and death, he bequeathed

---

* "Eh! messieurs, quand vous m'aurez mis à la lanterne, y verrez-vous plus clair?"

a legacy of his labours on a new constitution, destined for their use, to a mourning, put applauding people!

As an author, he exhibited more zeal than genius, and more industry than talents: he declaimed rather than argued; he surprised rather than convinced: yet, although his time had been devoted to licentious pleasures, his writings were ever dedicated to the cause of honour, humanity, and virtue. It was as an orator alone, however, that he stood unrivalled. But to conceive a just notion of the effects he produced, it would have been necessary to have witnessed the astonishing bursts of his eloquence on great, or the majestic cadence of his language, and the varied intonations of his voice, on ordinary occasions. Nor were the features of his face or the gesticulations of his person, although the one was devoid of beauty and the other of elegance, deficient in interest, unsuitable to his purpose, or inadequate to his views for the lowering frown that wrinkled his ample forehead was calculated to appal; while the lightning of his eye seemed to blast; the thunder of his voice, to terrify; and the vengeance of his uplifted arm, to smite, subdue, and overcome his abashed and intimidated opponents.

At the first meeting of the second, or legislative assembly, the constitutional act was introduced with great ceremony, and every deputy in succession ascending the rostrum, and placing his hand on the original, swore to maintain the constitution decreed during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. Previously to the appearance of the king, the mode in which he was to be received and addressed underwent a long discussion; and it was determined that the expression of "Sire" should be omitted, as partaking of the feudal forms, and that of "majesty*," as incompatible with a limited monarchy.

---

* The legislative assembly has been greatly censured, on account of this seeming disrespect to the first magistrate; but, however impolitic it might have been to have entered into discussions of this kind, the members were in some measure justified both by history and the ancient constitution of France. Whoever will be at the pains to turn to *Francogallia Hottomani*, will find that the title of

HAVING decreed the reunion of Avignon and the Comtat, a measure that produced great clamour, although they had several times been resumed by the kings of France, disturbances of the most alarming kind ensued. The partisans of the pope were the first to sow dissension and promote disturbances; some blood was spilt upon this occasion; and the popular party, headed by a ruffian of the name of Jourdan, prepared in their turn to exact vengeance: this was speedily effected, and a most bloody and disgusting massacre ensued, in which, while some of the perpetrators of the original outrage suffered, many innocent persons also lost their lives. The assembly, which had neglected to punish this attrocity, wishing to conciliate those who had emigrated, and prevent, if possible, the calamities of a foreign war, revoked the laws against them, and gave permission for their return. But this produced no beneficial effect; on the contrary, the emigration became greater than before, and the roads were covered with the nobles and priests, who fled in all directions; some repaired to England, others reached Austrian Flanders and the Electorates, but the chief place of rendezvous was Coblentz. The French princes resorted to that city; the ancient household troops of the king were re-established there, all the ceremonial of Versailles was practised, and the prince of Condé actually began to assemble an army of malecontents.

ON this, the assembly passed a decree, declaring Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited his eventual right to the regency, if he did not return within the space of two months; by another, all the French thus assembled were proclaimed traitors; while a third, drawn up in form of a manifesto*,

---

majesty was only bestowed on the kings of the Franks when acting in their corporate capacity along with the deputies of the nation; the expression of "Sire" was less objectionable, although it must be allowed also to be of feudal origin, and to imply, perhaps, a degrading inferiority.

* *Manifesto of the French Nation, decreed by the National Assembly, December* 29, 1791, *and ordered to be delivered by the Ministers to all the Courts of Europe.*

and memorable on many accounts, renounced in future all wars for the sake of aggrandisement. But neither did the two first of these, nor the law against the nonjuring clergy, receive the sanction of the king, who opposed his veto ;—

" At a moment when, for the first time since the epoch of their liberty, the French people may see themselves reduced to the necesity of exercising the terrible rights of war, their representatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives which have guided their resolutions, and an exposition of the principles which direct their conduct.

" The French nation renounces the idea of war with the view of making conquests, and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any state. Such is the text of her constitution ; such is the sacred vow upon which they have connected their own happiness with the happiness of every other people, and they will be faithful to them.

" But who can consider that as a friendly territory, in which exists an army waiting only the prospect of success for the moment of attack ?

" Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of strength not only to enemies who have already declared, but to conspirators who have long since commenced it ? Every thing, therefore, imposes upon the powers established by the constitution for maintaining the peace and the safety of the public, the imperious law of employing force against rebels, who, from the bosom of a foreign land, threaten to tear their country in pieces.

" The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people insulted—the criminal abuse of the king's name employed by impostors to veil their disastrous projects—distrust kept up by sinister rumours through the whole empire—the obstacles occasioned by this distrust to the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and seduce the citizens—the disquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts the most vain and most speedily repulsed may expose them—the outrages, always unpunished, which they have experienced on the territories, where the revolted French find an asylum—the necessity of not allowing the rebels time to complete their preparations, or raise up more dangerous enemies against their country ; such are our motives. Never did more just or more urgent exist. And in the picture which we have drawn, we have rather softened than overcharged our injuries. We have no occasion to rouse the indignation of citizens, in order to inflame their courage.

" The French nation, however, will never cease to consider as a friendly people, the inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer them protection. The

a constitutional but impolitic measure, to which he was induced by the interposition of Lameth and Barnave, members of the former assembly, whom he was pleased to consult upon this critical occasion.

In fine, although Louis XVI. appeared to have sacrificed some of his prejudices, he had not regained his popularity ;

---

peaceful citizens, whose country armies may occupy, shall not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as subjects. The public force of which she may become the depositary, shall not be employed, but to secure their tranquillity and maintain the laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, she will never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury herself in her own ruins, rather than suffer a constitution and laws to be wrested from her, or dictated to her, or even an insulting guarantee of those she has formed for herself, she will never infringe the independence of other nations. Her soldiers will conduct themselves on a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The involuntary evils which her troops may occasion, shall be repaired. The asylum which she offers to strangers, shall not be shut against the inhabitants of countries whose princes shall have forced her to attack them ; they shall find a sure refuge in her bosom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, she will fulfil them with a generous exactness ; but no danger shall be capable of making her forget that the soil of France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be universal. She will present to the world the new spectacle of a nation truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amidst the storms of war, and respecting every where, on every occasion, towards all men, the rights which are the same to all.

" Peace, which imposture, intrigue, and treason, have banished, will never cease to be the first of our wishes. France will take up arms, compelled to do so for her safety and her internal peace ; and she will be seen to lay them down with joy the moment she is assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty—for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves peace ; she feels that she has need of it ; and she is too conscious of her strength to dread the avowal. When, in requiring foreign nations to respect her repose, she took an eternal engagement not to trouble her neighbours, she might have thought that she deserved to be listened to, and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of the tranquillity, and the happiness of other states, might have merited the affection of princes who governed them ; but such of those princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, shall learn that the cruel right of reprisal, justified by usage, although condemned by nature, will not make her resort to the means

on the contrary, he was still accused of hypocrisy and treachery, and it is only necessary to take a superficial view of the state of the kingdom at this eventful period, in order to prognosticate some of the various evils that speedily ensued.

SECTION VIII.

FRANCE, at this moment, was divided into and distracted by contending parties. The king, averse from a constitution to which he had reluctantly sworn, intrigued, both at home and abroad, to produce a counter-revolution. Around

---

employed against her own repose; that she will be just to those who have not been so to her; that she will every-where pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example.

"The French nation is free; and what is more than to be free, she has the sentiment of freedom. She is free, she is armed; she can never be reduced to slavery. In vain are intestine discords contemplated; the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws is expired, and she is too wise to anticipate the lesson of experience: she wishes only to maintain her constitution, and to defend it.

"The division of two powers proceeding from the same source, and directed to the same end, the last hope of our enemies, has vanished at the voice of our country in danger; and the king, by the solemnity of his proceedings, by the frankness of his measures, shews to Europe the French nation strong in her means of defence and prosperity.

"Resigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race united against her may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage; victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

"Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted:—to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear; and to treat adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare against their enemies."

the royal standard appeared to be assembled a remnant of the ancient nobility, and all those devoted by place, sentiment, attachment, corruption, or prejudice, to the crown. On the other hand, the popular cause was sustained in the legislative assembly by a decided majority; Paris, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, all the great cities now participating in a municipal jurisdiction, were devoted to it; and as it had as yet been uncontaminated by excess, a large portion of the population of Europe beheld the new order of affairs with a favourable eye. Many of the troops of the line, indeed, still entertained a secret enmity to a constitution which, while it was calculated to benefit the people, and even themselves, lessened the power and influence of the prince; but an immense multitude of national guards, faithful alike to their interests and their oaths, were determined to maintain their new-born liberties, at the expence of every thing dear to them. The ascendancy of the metropolis, now become the joint residence of the assembly and the king, contributed also to give a decided preponderance to the patriots, while the astonishing influence of the press scarcely admits of calculation. Every printing-house in the capital teemed with productions; and, in addition to innumerable hand and posting bills, journals, and regular periodical works, it has been estimated that, during the first years of the revolution, no less than one hundred and fifty pamphlets issued weekly from the shops of the booksellers.

Newspapers of all kinds, sizes, forms, and prices, from two duodecimo pages to two sheets, and from a halfpenny to a *livre*, were regularly published to the amount of about forty; some at break of day, some early in the morning, some at noon, and some at night: two or three were dedicated to the debates of the legislative body alone; one was solely occupied with the proceedings of the Jacobins, another of the Cordeliers, a third of the Feuillans. A journal was expressly confined to the instruction of the armies; another was consecrated to the information of the peasantry alone; a third was calculated to inspire patriotism in the remote departments. The royalists possessed a few; the democratical party a multitude; the constitutionalists countenanced two

or three ; the ministers also had their favourite papers: and the king himself was persuaded to waste his civil list on, and derive a precarious and equivocal support from, the labours of a few obscure editors.

Mirabeau had been the first deputy who recurred to this obvious mode of acquiring popularity, and promoting the interests of his party*. Robespierre, however, and even Roederer, attempted it afterwards without success ; but the writings of Condorcet, Cerutti, Brissot, Mercier, Carra, and many others, had a prodigious influence on the public mind† ;

---

* " *Lettres de Mirabeau à ses Commettans.*" It may afford some idea of the expectations excited by the author, to remark, that the subscription for the first three months, paid, as was usual in France, by anticipation, amounted to more than 30,000 livres, or £.1312 10s. sterling.

† It may not prove uninteresting, perhaps, to dedicate this note to a catalogue of the principal newspapers published about this period in the capital :

I. POPULAR JOURNALS.

1. *Lettres de Mirabeau à ses Commettans.* The publication of this newspaper, in the form of a pamphlet, was prohibited for some time by order of the court, in the early part of 1789 ; but it was afterwards resumed under the name of

2. *Le Courier de Provence*, the sale and influence of which were prodigious.

3. *Le Moniteur*, one folio sheet, with an Appendix, sometimes of two, ond sometimes of four pages. This has always been, and still continues, a respectable and moderate journal.

4. *Le Chronique de Paris*, 4to. Condorcet wrote some time for this paper, and that circumstance contributed chiefly to its celebrity.

5. *Le Patriote François*, first conducted by Brissot, and then by Girey Dupré. It was originally published in 1789, and remained in great request until the triumph of the Jacobins over the Girondists, on which occasion the presses were destroyed.

6. *Le Thermometre*, printed in the house of Roland, while minister of the Home Department.

7. *Le Point de Jour ;* this contained an analysis of the debates of the assembly, and was ably executed. As Barrere was the editor, it may excite surprise to learn that it was written with great moderation, and that the king was always treated in it with respect : but it ought not to be omitted, that the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, are here only alluded to.

8. *Le Républicain, ou le Défenseur du Gouvernement Représentatif.*

and it must be allowed, that their compositions were far superior to those of their antagonists.

In addition to various other causes, by means of which the public opinion was perpetually agitated, one of the most

---

Two numbers of this only were published; the return of the king having rendered a journal of this kind premature.

9. *La Décade Historique*, by Rœderer, one of the six members who remained with the Jacobins; he is a confused writer, and has always varied his principles according to the times.

10. *La Feuille Villageoise*, 4to. a paper written with equal ability and simplicity, by Cerutti: it was intended chiefly for the peasantry and inhabitants of the country.

11. *Le Journal de Paris*, 4to. an analysis of the debates of the legislative body, with able remarks, was given daily in this paper for some time, by Condorcet.

12. *La Sentinelle*, a journal written with great ability by Louvet, printed in large letters, and posted against the walls. Upwards of 20,000 of some of the numbers were published, and the expence defrayed by Roland: it was equally hostile to the royalists and anarchists.

13. *Les Annales Politiques & Littéraires*, 4to. by Mercier and Carra. These two members wrote with great bitterness, and even intemperance; in consequence of which their labours, particularly those of Carra, were read with an uncommon degree of avidity in the capital, the provinces, and even in the armies.

14. *Journal Général de l'Europe*, by Lebrun, afterwards minister for foreign affairs: this was confined chiefly to the external political relations of France.

II. INCENDIARY JOURNALS.

1. *L'Ami du Peuple*, written by Marat, at once the enemy and the opprobrium of the human race. This journal continually preached up murder, massacre, and proscription; the pen of the author was supposed to be under the supervision and controul of Robespierre and Danton.

2. *L'Union, ou Journal de la Liberté*, conducted by Robespierre, before he had acquired any degree of celebrity: it was written with extreme violence, and displayed neither taste nor genius.

3. *L'Orateur du Peuple*, first published in 1789, edited by the deputy Freron, the godson of Stanislaus king of Poland, and son of the antagonist of Voltaire. This was always considered as a violent journal.

4. *Le Courier de Paris*, written by Gorsas: a paper devoted to the jacobins.

5. *Le Journal des Révolutions de Paris*, by Prudhomme, originally a printer and bookbinder, and termed, with great propriety, the "Thersites of the Revolution." This also was a violent and inflammatory publication.

powerful engines recurred to during the whole revolutionary warfare, still remains to be mentioned: this is the society of the jacobins.

LANJUINAIS, a deputy to the states-general, and a president of the national assembly, was the founder of that celebrated political sect, which, like the rota at Westminster during the protectorate of Cromwell, and the portico of the Bretons in the royal palace of Blois during the reign of Henry III. discussed a variety of important questions, and investigated the means of ensuring the safety and prosperity of the state. It originated in 1789, under the denomination of the Breton Club, in consequence of having been first established by the representatives of Britanny; when it was afterwards frequented by several of the deputies from the other provinces also, the members assumed the appellation of "The Friends of the People;" but they were at length bet-

---

6. *Les Révolutions de France & de Brabant*, by Camille Desmoulins, who termed himself (le procureur-général de lanterne) the attorney-general of the lantern. He afterwards published *Le Vieux Cordelier*, in which he preached up clemency and moderation: this new doctrine offended the terrorists, and occasioned his own death.

7. *Le Père Duchène*, a low contemptible journal, replete with oaths and ribaldry.

8. *Le Tribun du Peuple*, by Babœuf; like the former, violent and incendiary.

III. ROYALIST, OR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY, GAZETTES.

1. *La Logographe*, in folio, the largest journal in point of size ever published in Europe. This was intended to counterbalance Le Moniteur; and it would appear from the documents produced by Valadi, on his majesty's trial, that the king rewarded the zeal of the undertakers with 34,560 livres.

2. *Le Mercure*, 12mo. published once a-week; the political part was conducted with great ability by Mallet du Pan, who enjoyed the secret protection of the king, during the years 1789, 1790, 1791, and part of 1792.

3. *Le Journal de la Cour & de la Ville*, by Gautier; a violent paper, on the side of the royal party.

4. *Le Royaliste*, and 5. *Le Gazette de Paris*, both by Durosci, afterwards executed.

6. *Le Postillon de la Guerre*. It appears from one of the papers found in the possession of M. Septeuil, that the editor received 8000 livres, as a gratification from the king.

ter known by the place where they assembled, which was called the hall of the Jacobins, from having formerly belonged to a fraternity of dominican friars, whose patron saint was of that name. The most celebrated orators, patriots, and politicians, for some time after the institution, considered it as an admirable engine for the sustenance of the public cause. All the zealots of democracy, all the decided enemies to the court, all the foes to the privileged orders, and many of the most virtuous and moderate members of the assembly, at first appertained to it. Its ascendancy was not confined to Paris: with every city, and with almost every village throughout France, it kept up a constant intercourse by means of twenty thousand *affiliated* clubs, which looked up to the central meeting in the capital as a mother society, imbibed all its notions, diffused all its opinions, and propagated all its alarms. Such was its influence, that the legislative body was often guided by its decisions, the soldiers were permitted to leave their barracks in order to frequent its galleries, while the *red cap* of the president was seen by turns encircling the brows of the mayor of Paris elected by the people, and the minister* of state nominated by the king.

But although its power had greatly increased, its character was manifestly on the wane. The incendiary motions, the outrageous proceedings, and the equivocal characters of many of the ruling members, had cast an indelible stain on a society which, after counterbalancing the influence of the court, and efficaciously serving the public cause, by the talents and zeal of those who had acquired for it a dangerous pre-eminence, was likely, at no distant period, to endanger the fabric of national liberty, by its unqualified violence. The greater part of the deputies, and some respectable private individuals, had accordingly withdrawn, while the names of many of those most conspicuous for their virtue, patriotism, and oratorical powers, were erased from the list of members; and the committees were now regulated and

* Pache and Petion, as well as Montmorin and Dumouriez, were members of and frequented the hall of the Jacobins.

the chair filled according to the secret suggestions of two or three ambitious and aspiring individuals.

Maximilian Robespierre, a native of Arras, and an advocate by profession, might even at this period be esteemed the principal leader. He had sat in the states-general as a representative of a third-estate of the province where he was born; and although unable to acquire any celebrity in so distinguished an assembly by his eloquence, he at length found means to render himself conspicuous, by a steady opposition to every thing that resembled a deviation from principles, or an abuse of authority. The excess of his affected humanity was such, that when the articles of the criminal code were discussed*, this man, doomed hereafter to make the blood of his fellow-citizens flow in torrents by the hands of the executioner, expressed the most decided abhorrence to the punishment of death, and declared for the immediate abolition of so cruel, so useless, and so sanguinary a punishment.

On the revision of the constitution, he persisted in his former sentiments with an uniformity so much the more remarkable, as many of the other deputies had been prevailed upon to relinquish their principles, in consequence of the largesses of the court. This circumstance alone tended not a little to his celebrity; and as his hands at no period of his life, even when polluted with human gore, were stained by lucre or rapacity, he now began to acquire, and in some measure deserved, the title of "incorruptible." An altar, erected in the name of public gratitude in the *Champ de Mars*†, was inscribed with his name; and on the dissolution of the constituting assembly, a triumph, somewhat resembling the ancient ovation, was decreed to him by popular esteem; for when he and Petion left the hall, they were placed in an open

---

* May 30, 1791.

† A CELUI QUI A BIEN MERITE, DE LA PATRIE: ROBESPIERRE.

carriage, crowned with oak, and drawn home amidst the exclamations* of an applauding multitude.

Soon after this he was nominated to a respectable office, analogous to his original profession, in the criminal tribunal of Paris†; but he suddenly resigned that situation, and dedicated all his time to the organisation of the Jacobin society, over which he had acquired but little or no influence, while the Girondists were allowed to give an auspicious direction to its labours by means of their wisdom, and to make its walls re-echo with their eloquence.

But when it was abandoned by most of the other deputies, Robespierre, one of the six‡ who remained, acted frequently as president‖, and at length acquired a complete ascendancy. Gloomy, vindictive, ferocious, and at once replete with cowardice and malignity, such was his matchless hypocrisy, that he concealed his real character until he had triumphed over his enemies; and such his unabating envy, that he considered all those as foes, whose superior talents and virtues had procured them a place in the public esteem. As yet his reputation was unstained by crimes, but even now he appeared to be secretly contemplating an original and monstrous species of dominion unknown before in any age or country, and alike alarming on account of its novelty and atrocity. The Jacobins were the engine by means of which he purposed to execute the suggestions of a gloomy ambition; and crimes which a Nero or Caligula would scarcely have dared to dream of, although invested with the imperial purple, and

---

* "Voilà l'amis du peuple, le grand defenseurs de la liberté!"

† That of "accusateur public," somewhat like our attorney-general: he was appointed in June, 1791.

‡ Rœderer, Buzot, Petion, Antoine, and the two Robespierres.

‖ It was he who presided March 19, 1792, when Dumouriez, just nominated to the department for foreign affairs, found it necessary to court popularity, by presenting himself to the society. After giving the fraternal embrace to the new minister, he placed the *bonnet rouge* on his head, and addressed him as follows in a severe tone of voice: "If Dumouriez but continue as he has begun, he will find in each of us a brother; yet," added he, "I am ready to confess, that it is extremely difficult to find a minister and a citizen in the same person."

surrounded by the satellites of despotism, were at length achieved with facility by a private individual, and that too in the name of "liberty !"

DANTON, first the associate, then the victim of Robespierre, and like him also an advocate by profession, seemed to be intended by nature for the tempestuous period in which he lived, and the bold and decisive character which he assumed. At once tall and athletic, he possessed a figure formed to inspire awe, a stentorian voice, which kept alive the attention of the most numerous assembly, and a bold and specious eloquence, admirably calculated to impose upon the multitude. Not content with acting a conspicuous part in the Jacobin society, he instituted the cordeliers, and became at once their founder and their chief. Open, daring, generous, and unreserved, he exhibited some good qualities in conjunction with many vices, but he was consumed by a devouring ambition.

MARAT, a native of Neufchâtel in Switzerland, was the creature of the two former, who not unfrequently protected him from punishment, and directed both his pen and his vengeance. A dwarf in stature, with a head disproportionably large for his body, nature seems to have marked him at his birth with the seal of reprobation, on purpose to warn mankind to beware of him. Actuated by a warm and perturbed imagination, he calmly formed theoretical plans of vengeance which would have staggered any of the tyrants of antiquity, and calculated by hundreds of thousands the numbers of his victims. After prescribing for horses*, he affected to inform and instruct men, and actually became an author and a legislator : but his ferocious opinions appeared to be written with blood rather than with ink ; the only laws prepounded by him, resembled plans of proscription ; while fire, daggers, secret murders, and open assassinations, became the constant hopes and favourite figures of his distorted eloquence. But, however dangerous he may appear,

* He is said to have acted as a veterinary surgeon in the stables of the count d'Artois.

this wretch would have proved impotent from the very excess of his mischief alone, had he not served as an instrument to abler men, who at the same time praised, employed, blamed, and despised him.

Such were the present leaders of that famous club, destined in a short time to regulate the fate of an empire; but they had not as yet fully disclosed their real characters to the broad glare of day: and while they were supported by a multitude of dangerous and daring adventurers, collected from all parts of France and of Europe, whose names had been lately enrolled on the records of the society, it is but justice to add, that they were also hailed as the friends of their country, by a crowd of honest but deluded followers; nor would they have ever been suffered to acquire a fatal pre-eminence, had it not been for the open hostility of the queen to the new constitution, and to the very name of liberty; the weak, wavering, and suspicious conduct of Louis XVI. the impolitic and insulting interference on the part of foreign powers; and finally, a war equally hostile and repugnant to the pride, freedom, and independence of a great nation.

While the present leaders of the Jacobins scarcely concealed their wishes to dethrone the king, and either nominate a new dynasty to the throne, or erect a republic on its ruins, a rival society existed, the members of which, under a name* expressive of an implicit attachment to the new constitution, were desirous of a legislature consisting of two houses; many of them also had now made their peace with the court, and were even devoted to it. In consequence of a schism among "the friends of the people," Talleyrand, then bishop of Autun; Emery, a member of the assembly; the dukes de Rochefaucauld and Liancourt; the two Lameths; La Fayette, and many others, had left that celebrated society and determined to found another. They at first assembled in the magnificent hotel belonging to the younger Crillon, son of the conqueror of Minorca; and

* Constitutionels.

when they became more numerous, assumed the appellation of "The Club of 1789:" but they were afterwards better known by the name of the convent of the Feuillans, which they hired, because the hall, by being large and capacious, was calculated for their debates.

THEIR former associates, perceiving them to be formidable, affected to wish for a reunion, and accordingly sent a deputation for that purpose; but the *feuillans* haughtily rejected the proposition—a circumstance which their rivals well knew how to turn to their advantage, and soon found means not only to render them suspected by the people, but even at length to annihilate them as a deliberative body.

WHILE these two formidable societies evinced a rooted hatred to each other, and were both in their turn detested by the royalists, the legislative assembly, neither equal in point of talents nor of energy to the states-general, began to be split into parties, and at times exhibited some presages of that intolerant spirit which, soon after the convocation of the convention, involved France in blood and calamity. The power and influence of the court, however, still contributed to produce a certain degree of apparent union against the common enemy of all; and it was not until the royal family had been made prisoners, and the monarchy itself was dissolved, that the blood of the advocates of liberty flowed on the same scaffold that had received the victims of aristocracy; and the founders of the republic began to proscribe each other with an envenomed rancour, that admitted neither of compromise nor of mercy.

THE Girondists, so called from the department whence they were deputed, possessed great influence in the legislative body at this period, and were equally celebrated for their talents and integrity; but they were far better calculated to rule in the halcyon days of tranquillity, than to preside amidst the awful storm that was about to ensue.

VERGINAUX, a native of Limoges, and one of the representatives for Bourdeaux, had been bred to the bar; but he was better calculated by nature for the part now performed by him in a popular assembly. He was actuated by a marked antipathy against the fugitive princes and nobility, whom

he considered as rebels ; against the refractory priests, whom he wished to punish as stirrers up of sedition ; and against the house of Austria, which he accused of having fomented all the plots and disturbances in France. Devoted to the cause of liberty and his country, he was at once resolute, able, and indolent. He disputed the palm of eloquence with the most celebrated orators of the second assembly ; and, of all his countrymen, was inferior to Mirabeau alone.

Gensonne, like the former, an advocate of Bourdeaux, was at the same time his rival as a rhetorician, and his friend in respect to political opinions. His sentiments on all occasions possessed great weight ; and he may be considered as governing his party no less by means of the happy effusions of a spontaneous eloquence in the assembly, than the indefatigable activity displayed by him in its committees.

Guadet, lately president of the criminal tribunal of the Gironde, was replete with animation and talents, but never proved so successful as when he appealed to the passions. His youth alone had prevented him from sitting in the constituting assembly ; in the legislative he did not fail to attain considerable reputation, and being an enemy to tyranny of every kind, he was equally desirous to punish the sanguinary demagogues who misled the people, and the perfidious courtiers who ruled the king.

Brissot, the chairman of the diplomatic committee, and a laborious rather than an eloquent man, possessed such sway in the assembly, that a portion of the deputies in opposition to the court was denominated after him. The son of an obscure plebeian, but originally bred to the bar, he published several works on criminal jurisprudence, all of which are rendered more conspicuous on account of the marked hatred to injustice evinced by the author, than any eminent display of talents. Attached to a republican form of government, he was ever watchful and suspicious of the throne ; well acquainted with the extent of the queen's influence, he was perpetually denouncing an *Austrian committee*, that interposed sometimes between the king and his ministers, and at other times between his majesty and the assembly. His enemies, like himself impetuous, were always eager to assail his cha-

racter, yet they could neither justify their own rancour, nor impeach his honesty, for he constantly refuted their assertions by facts. They accused him of being a creature of the duke of Orleans, in whose chancery he had occupied a place, and desirous to place that prince on the throne; but he possessed an independent mind, and was a determined enemy to monarchy: they insinuated also, that he found means to appropriate the public money to his own use; but he lived and died in poverty.

Zealous to support the honor of his nation, and avenge the protection given to the emigrants by foreign powers, he was desirous of a war, without which, in his opinion, liberty could not be maintained; the love of freedom, in others a sentiment, had in some measure become a prejudice with him, for he had been imprisoned in the Bastille; and it was his singular good fortune to have been presented, as president of a committee of his district, with the keys of that odious prison in which he was once entombed, on its capture by the Parisians.

Condorcet, one of the forty members of the French academy, has been already noticed as a man of letters, but not as a politician. Attached to the ancient institutions of Greece and of Rome, he became a republican by study and reflection; and although born a noble, he was yet an enemy to nobility. It was always his opinion that the king had betrayed the nation, and he more than once moved that his majesty should be suspended from the exercise of the royal functions; his name conferred a lustre on the party that he supported, and he contributed greatly by his writings to the changes that ensued.

Such were the principal leaders of a party, sometimes termed the Girondists, and sometimes the Brissotins, which, at the epoch we now allude to, maintained a steady preponderance in the legislative assembly, as well as in the city of Paris, Petion the mayor, and many of the municipal magistrates, being devoted to it; this celebrated body, however, had long ceased to enjoy the confidence of the Jacobins, who, actuated by violent counsels and desperate leaders, were preparing to triumph over all opposition, and, by means of a

conduct equally audacious and successful, finally prevailed. But, on the other hand, the king had at length found it necessary to consult their wishes relative to the formation of the new cabinet:—a measure evidently disagreeable, being imposed upon him solely by the force of popular opinion; and he accordingly seized the first opportunity afforded by the discordant opinions of the members to dissolve it, and nominate another more pliant and conformable to his wishes.

Upwards of forty different ministers, during the short space of fourteen years, had already been called in at different times to support the tottering edifice of the monarchy. Louis XVI. had by turns employed the frivolous Maurepas, the virtuous Turgot, the indefatigable Sartine, the politic Vergennes, the weak and tyrannical Brienne, the faulty but well-meaning Lamaignon, the amiable Malesherbes, the prodigal Calonne, the economical Necker, the wily Montmorin, and the impotent Delessart: of these, not above two or three exhibited any talents for government; the others contributed in their turn, less by their wishes than their misconduct, to the revolution.

The present, which the courtiers affected to term sometimes the jacobin, and sometimes the *sans culotte administration*, consisted of six members, and exhibited a striking contrast, both in respect to talents and principles. Dumouriez, the minister for foreign affairs, had been a soldier of fortune; he was employed in 1757, as a commissary at war, in the army of M. d'Etrées, and having conceived an attachment to a military life, procured a cornetcy of horse, and was wounded at the battle of Emstetten. After having obtained the rank of a captain, he was dismissed at the end of the war with the cross of St. Louis, which he had merited by his bravery, and a pension, no part of which was ever received by him.

Being induced partly by a restless disposition, and partly by poverty, he became an adventurer, in which capacity he repaired to Italy, where, like the *Condittori* of a former century, he offered his sword and his services to any state or party that would employ him. These being rejected, both

by Paoli and the Genoese, who were then fighting for the possession of Corsica, he returned home, and visited Spain and Portugal, the latter of which was secretly surveyed by him, at the request of the French ministry, with a view to a future invasion. Having been recalled, and employed in the reduction of Corsica with the rank of colonel, he was afterwards sent to Poland, and assisted the confederation of Bar, sometimes with his advice, and sometimes with his personal services. In consequence of a change in the ministry, he was seized and confined in the Bastille, and on the death of Louis XV. resumed his freedom. He found means at length to be appointed first, *commandant* of Cherburgh, then governor of Lower Normandy, and afterwards a major-general.

At the commencement of the revolution he declared for the king, and drew up a plan for the preservation of the Bastille and the subjection of Paris; but, on hearing of his flight, he transmitted a letter to Barrere, then president, stating his attachment to, and his determination to defend the assembly, to whose assistance he was then marching at the head of a large body of troops. While Dumouriez commanded in La Vendée, he became acquainted with Gensonné, one of the deputies sent thither, and being introduced by him to the patriots of the legislative assembly, they procured his nomination* to the office of foreign affairs, vacant by the imprisonment of Delessart, who had been sent a prisoner to Orleans.

This minister, bold, insatiable, and ambitious, must be allowed to have possessed genius, but he was deficient in wisdom, and even his integrity soon began to be suspected.

The vacant appointment to the marine department was filled, in consequence of the influence of Dumouriez, by Lacoste. He had been formerly employed in a subordinate situation in the same office, and still conducted himself like a clerk rather than a member of the cabinet.

---

* M. Degrave, then minister at war, has lately assured the author that it was he who first proposed Dumouriez to the king.

The place of minister of justice was conferred on an advocate of Bourdeaux, of the name of Duranton, who at the commencement of the revolution had been appointed procureur-syndic of that city. He was dull, heavy, timid, and loquacious; but he was an honest man. Having been nominated at the instance of Verginaux and Gensonné, in consequence of his attachment to the popular cause, he was afterwards accused by them of inconstancy; for, being a provincial lawyer, and totally unacquainted with the court, and even with Paris, he became dazzled by the splendour of a throne, and was induced by a generous sympathy to conform to the wishes of the monarch.

The administration of the finances was again committed to a banker and a citizen of Geneva, in the person of Claviere, who had left the republic in which he was born, in consequence of a revolution that forced the patriots to take refuge in foreign countries. Having drawn up a celebrated memorial on the revenue and expenditure of France, he had successively enjoyed the friendship of Mirabeau, la Fayette, and Telleyrand; he is also said to have suggested the idea of the assignats; but it was to his connection with Brissot that he was indebted for his present elevation. About this period he had distinguished himself as a member of "the friends of the negroes;" he also belonged to the society of the Jacobins; and, notwithstanding his zeal sometimes passed the bounds of decorum, he was allowed by all to be admirably calculated for the eminent situation with which he was now intrusted.

Degrave, lately a colonel, and now a major-general in the army, was young, amiable, devoid of experience, and diffident of his own abilities; he was a friend to a moderate reform in the French government, and belonged to that party usually denominated the *constitutionalists*, from their having formed the political code, in the first national assembly: his bad state of health rendered him unfit for the station he then held, and he was succeeded by Servan, who to the reputation of great talents, added the now necessary qualification of an ardent patriotism.

ROLAND, the minister of the home department, was one of the most remarkable men of his time, and it was his fortune to be united to a female of singular accomplishments, who, after assisting him in his academical pursuits, became at once his secretary and assessor in politics. Uniting an intimate knowledge of commerce with a love of literature, he had acted at the same time as inspector-general of the manufactures of Arras, a writer in the Encyclopedia, and a member of all the learned societies in the south of France. Although more than sixty, he was still ardent and indefatigable. His imagination being warmed by the examples of Greek and Roman virtue, he had by degrees imbibed a certain degree of contempt for the age in which he was born, and became inspired at the same time with a strong partiality for a republican form of government. Unlike Duranton, he stood undaunted in the presence of a king, whom he treated as the first magistrate of a free people, amenable to their jurisdiction, and bound to act exclusively for their interests. A member of the jacobin society, he deemed an attendance at its meetings incompatible with the post of minister, and he was the first to arraign the conduct of its associates when they departed from their original principles. Although an obscure man, at the time of his appointment he did not turn giddy with his elevation; on the contrary, he exhibited a marked resemblance to an English patriot* of the seventeenth century, who was said never to have changed his sentiments or his dress: and he gave great offence by appearing at the council board without being decked out agreeably to the stated forms; for he was accustomed to repair thither clothed in a plain black suit, with his straight white locks combed over his forehead, and his shoes fastened with strings instead of buckles.

SUCH was the administration selected at this critical moment for the government of France. Most of the members were odious to the king; some were beloved by, while others were suspected by the jacobins; but they were all alike abhorred by the feuillans. They were accordingly abused in

---

* Sir Joseph Jekyll.

the newspapers devoted to the cause of the monarchy and the aristocracy: they were also ridiculed by the courtiers, treated with contempt by the grandees, and so much were they hated within the precincts of royalty, that, if we are to believe one of themselves*, the body-guards always assumed a menacing air when they appeared at the castle of the Tuilleries.

No sooner had the new ministry commenced the exercise of their functions, than they were surrounded by a multitude of dangers and difficulties, both domestic and foreign, whence they found it extremely difficult to extricate either their country or themselves. The legislative assembly had taken the alarm at the new body-guard of the king, of late considerably increased beyond the number allowed by law, having been augmented from eighteen hundred to near six thousand men, by means of disaffected persons, commanded by officers who had quitted their respective regiments because they would not subscribe the civic oath. The king wished to resist the decree for disbanding them; and it was with great difficulty he was at length induced to promise his acquiescence with the wishes of the legislature. The struggle was still greater on all occasions in which the interests of the diffident clergy were concerned; nor could he be prevailed upon to withdraw his countenance from that body, which was encouraged in its opposition by knowing that the conscience of the monarch was regulated by a ghostly director of the same principles.

His majesty, however, more readily complied with the request of his cabinet to recal his two brothers, and actually dispatched a letter to them, written with his own hand, and entrusted to a confidential agent†, pressing their return: but they persisted in remaining in the electorate of Treves, "to arm for his deliverance." At their entreaty, he also notified his acceptance of the constitution to foreign powers; some of which declined to return any answer, while others replied

---

* "Mémoires du General Dumouriez, écrit par lui-même," t. II.
† The Chevalier de Coigny.

in an ambiguous manner, calculated to infuse suspicion and distrust; and one or two evinced a marked disregard to that decorum generally exhibited in the intercourse between great states*. In short, a portentous cloud, now collecting in the North, threatened to burst suddenly upon France, and overwhelm a distracted nation with misery and despair. But it may be here necessary to survey the European hemisphere, in order to discover the quarter where this new storm was generated, and, after making ourselves acquainted with the nature and intenseness of the elements of which it was composed, endeavour to calculate its direction, and estimate its force.

SECTION IX.

FRANCE, as we have already seen, had limited the power of her kings, and established a constitution for the nation, faulty indeed, like all human institutions, but certainly preferable to the recent despotism. In accomplishing this object, the national constituting assembly only exercised the acknowledged right of internal regulation appertaining to every independent state; but it was soon apparent that these essential reforms had given umbrage to several of the absolute princes on the continent.

SPAIN, the first nation in Europe which profited by the riches of the new world, and by turns menaced all the neighbouring countries with her fleets and armies in the time of Philip II. might at this period be considered as in a state of progressive declension. Her manners, institutions, and even her religion, had rendered her in some measure unfit for commerce: and although she enjoyed extensive possessions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, the last of which alone constituted an immense empire, yet, from the situation of her treasury, and the nature of her government, she was equally

* See Appendix, C.

unprovided and disqualified for war. The count d'Aranda, a statesman worthy of better times, and of a better fate, had discerned her true interests, and wisely inculcated the policy of peace. Accordingly, when one of the chief maritime powers* appeared eager to commence hostilities relative to paltry commercial disputes, she wisely preferred tranquillity to a contest about the barren shores of Nootka, and the petty advantages resulting from an exclusive traffic in the skins of the sea otter. It was not until a future period that the indignation resulting from a memorable event, added to the influence of a queen and a favourite, prevailed on Charles IV. to depart from the principles of a sage neutrality.

The same causes which operated in respect to Spain, and contributed to lessen her importance in Europe ever since the time of Columbus, acted still more powerfully with regard to Portugal. Her fleets no longer, as in the days of Vasquez de Gama, ploughed the ocean to obtain a rich harvest from commerce, or attempted, by voyages of discovery, to find an easier mode of acquiring the wealth of the East. Feeble herself, and attached to England by commercial relations, it was this powerful ally that protected her frontiers, secured to her the free possession of Brazil, whence she drew her diamonds and her gold, and, by consuming her vintage, and regulating her trade, rendered her at once safe and dependent. Following in the train of Britain, she was not yet stimulated to war: nor did she dread innovation; for her shores were in no danger of being animated by the cry of liberty, against which they were rendered inaccessible by a triple barrier;—the inquisition, the monks, and that deplorable state of ignorance which arises from the junction of despotism and superstition.

The house of Savoy, united with the royal family of France by means of a double marriage, was of course alive to the interests of Louis XVI. and the emigrants, who were received with distinction at Turin, hoped, by their interest

---

* Great Britain.

there, to produce a war. The event fully verified their predictions.

Pius VI. now sovereign pontiff, appeared for a while to adopt the strict rules of Italian policy; but the withdrawing of the tribute hitherto paid to the Papal see, the schism in the Gallican church, and the resumption of Avignon, at length preyed upon his mind; and departing from his original moderation, he was persuaded to issue his obsolete bulls, and launch his unavailing thunders, until he found himself involved in the wreck of Italy.

The throne of the two Sicilies being occupied by a Bourbon and an archduchess of Austria, Naples was of course considered as one of the family courts. It was the interest of Ferdinand IV. as well as that of all the Italian states to remain at peace; but he soon, unhappily for himself, entered into the gigantic projects of more powerful princes, and, in the hopes of aggrandisement and revenge, forgot the principles by which his conduct ought to have been regulated.

England at this period appeared to be conscious of the immense advantages arising to a great manufacturing and commercial state, from the adoption of a wise and rigorous system of neutrality. Many obvious motives enforced the policy of peace. An immense national debt called aloud for a system of economy, and the pressure of the existing taxes seemed to render any increase burdensome to the nation.

The people, too, had hitherto rejoiced at the progress of liberty in France, and felt a generous indignation against those princes who presumed to intermeddle in her internal disputes; while a king, now firmly seated on the throne of the Stuarts, was indebted for the elevation of his family to a revolution founded, like the present, on the rights of a nation. In addition to these powerful motives, many others might be enumerated. France had not hitherto given any just cause of complaint, while a formidable opposition in parliament, as yet unbroken by defection, and unseduced by the brilliant prospects of wealth and power sustained the popular cause with unabated ardour, curbed the restless ambition of an unexperienced minister, and rendered any flagrant breach of the public repose dangerous, if not impracticable.

YET, notwithstanding these auspicious appearances, a few, possessed of keen penetration, and arguing from an intimate knowledge of the principles and policy of the majority of the members who then constituted the cabinet, thought they already perceived the gathering storm, and boldly presaged that the same men who, on a former occasion, had so zealously but impotently contended against liberty in one hemisphere, would not behold her triumph unmoved in another.

THE court of Copenhagen, while it beheld its king reduced to a state of the most deplorable imbecility, experienced a rare instance of good fortune in having its affairs conducted by an amiable regent and a sagacious minister. Wholly intent on the happiness and prosperity of those committed to their charge, the prince royal and the count de Bernstorff were averse from intermeddling in the internal polity of other nations. Even when almost every other court of Europe had become the theatre of intrigue, they kept aloof from the general coalition, and the increased prosperity of Denmark at this day attests their policy and wisdom.

IT was far otherwise with another of the Baltic powers, although but just released from the burden of a disastrous war. Sweden, which by turns has enjoyed liberty and suddenly relapsed into servitude, was now under the dominion of a prince who languished for an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his exploits. To a passion for military glory, Gustavus added a taste for the *belles-lettres*, an attachment to the sciences, a ready and commanding eloquence. By means of his popular talents he was enabled to overturn that constitution which he had solemnly sworn to maintain. This singular revolution, in which he had been secretly assisted by another monarch*, was achieved without bloodshed, and almost without tumult; and if his majesty did not possess the abilities of the first Cæsar, he at least affected on this occasion to rival his clemency.

---

* Louis XV.

His ardent and fiery temperament inspired him with a love of war; while a passion for fame at the same time rendered him desirous of every species of glory. He affected to consider Gustavus Adolphus as his model; but in many respects, his character had a closer resemblance to that of his ancestor Charles XII. Like this prince, he was swayed by an insatiable ambition, and an unceasing love of enterprise. Impressed with the chivalrous spirit of the middle ages, and irritated also, perhaps, because a pension, gilded by the gentler name of subsidy, had been withdrawn, he had conceived the romantic idea of vindicating the cause of monarchs, and accordingly determined to place himself at the head of an expatriated nobility; by whose means, in conjunction with his own, and the troops of his allies, he intended to oblige the French to submit to their former chains. Nor was it remembered by those so forward to contend for what they now began to term the cause of social order, that they exposed themselves to contempt, by placing a prince who had been inattentive to his own oaths at the head of a league which pretended to avenge perfidy and injustice.

But an incensed noble* avenged the cause of the prostrate senate, and Gustavus II. fell by the hand of a titled assassin, leaving to a minor son an immense debt as well as an impoverished and distracted country; to his subjects, the memory only of their violated rights; to ambitious kings, a beacon to warn them of the fate of even successful tyrants; and to posterity a history, that at once invite criticism and reproach.

The genius of one man civilized Russia, and, by erecting a capital on the shores of the Baltic, rendered his native country a preponderating power in the scale of European politics. In Catharine II. was found a successor, in many respects, worthy of himself. This ambitious female, following the track prescribed by her illustrious precursor, had conceived the gigantic enterprise of chasing the Turks from Europe, substituting the Greek cross for the Turkish crescent on the

---

*. Ankerstroem.

walls of Constantinople, and creating a new empire in the East. The revolution which had recently occurred in France made her pause, however, in the midst of her victories; Sweden was permitted to breathe from slaughter; and the Ottoman Porte now found itself more indebted to her policy than her moderation for its existence. She accordingly suspended the fate of the followers of Mahomet: and this versatile princess, at the shrine of whose ambition a Peter and an Ivan had been immolated; at whose bidding an independent nation had been plundered and sacrificed; who had violated all the duties of a wife, and of a subject; who had determined at one time to give liberty to the Russian slaves, and at another to resuscitate the Greek republics; now affected loudly to support the cause of public virtue. But she did not forget the artifices usually attributed to her sex; for, while she appeared, like a mighty Colossus, ready to hurl her vengeance against France from the icy regions of Finland, she kept her eye steadily fixed on unhappy Poland, and prepared once more to smite and overwhelm that prostrate and distracted commonwealth.

But it was from another quarter that France was doomed at this period to be assailed. While employed in the extension and security of her liberties, amidst the struggle with a reluctant monarch, a discontented priesthood, and a hostile nobility, she was menaced at the same time by a sudden and portentous combination of two great military states. These, like birds of prey, already appeared to snuff the carnage from afar, and readily consented to give a short respite to their mutual hostility: for the imperial and royal eagles, flushed with their recent successes against two nominal republics*, seemed now prepared to banquet on the carcass of a rich and extensive monarchy, rent asunder by dissensions, and apparently devoted to civil discord.

Prussia exhibits a pregnant example of the wonders that may be achieved by the genius of a single individual. Formerly a fief of Poland, and but lately created a kingdom,

* Poland and Holland.

during the reign of Frederick III. it had become one of the first states in Europe, partly by the victories, not always unstained by injustice, and partly by the administration, ever sage, of that great monarch. Not content with ravishing a portion of that republic by which his own country was formerly kept in a state of vassalage, and a share of the dominions of that very house one of the emperors of which had conferred the honours of royalty upon his own, he aspired to a new species of glory for an absolute monarch, by declaring himself the protector of the liberties of Germany.

His nephew appeared eager to imitate his uncle; but he was destitute of the necessary talents and virtues. Making up, however, by activity what was wanting in genius, he exhibited in his own person a strange compound of pleasure and of business; the love of ease and of intrigue, an equal passion for the luxuries of the haram and the fatigues of the camp. Nothing seemed too little, or too great, or too inconsistent, for the grasp of his ambition. When the prince-bishop of Liege was expelled by his indignant subjects, the despotic Frederick-William gravely reminded him of the duties of sovereigns, and the rights of a people. He openly assisted the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, when in arms against their legitimate prince, and even presented them with a general; while, on the other hand, he had imposed a master upon an independent nation, by forcing the Dutch once more to recognise William prince of Orange as their stadtholder. His ever-varying policy had now taken a new direction, and in consequence of an ill-omened union the house of Brandenburgh was preparing, in concert with the house of Austria, to invade and subjugate France.

The court of Vienna, at this period, was beginning to recover its former importance, and resume its ancient preponderance in the affairs of the empire and of Europe. The fate of the Austrian family has been singular. After having acquired great glory under Charles V. and Ferdinand II. its destruction would have been inevitable, had it not been averted by the valour of John Sobieski king of Poland. It was humbled at one period by the aspiring genius of Gustavus Adolphus; and, but for the successes of Marlborough

and the wealth of England, might have been partitioned at another. Maria Theresa, whom the Hungarians, preferring the lance to the distaff, would acknowledge by no other appellation than that of *king*, at length rescued the greater part of her dominions from a formidable rival. Although her imperial majesty had lost Silesia, in consequence of a war which may be considered as a commentary written in blood, by Frederick the Great, on his own Antimachiavel, yet she determined, nevertheless, to act an important part in the affairs of Europe. This pious princess, who exhibited a rigorous adherence to all the forms of religion, who confessed regularly once a-week, and scrupulously abstained from eating fish during Lent, yet could not refrain from coveting part of the dominions of a free and independent state, and adding them without scruple to her own territories, although she had solicited the vengeance of all Europe against a similar usurpation on the part of Frederick II. She at the same period beheld her son king of the Romans, the female branches o her family intermarried with the chief princes of the continent, and in some measure regulating the destiny of France, Spain, and the two Sicilies.

Joseph II. aped rather than imitated the illustrious rival and enemy of his house, and must be allowed to have possessed all his activity, without any of his genius. Perpetually striving to reconcile contrarieties, he was eager to abolish slavery in one part of his dominions, while he systematised despotism in another. Anxious to circumvent the policy of the wary Frederick, he wished to add Bavaria to his territories, and was bereft of his influence in Germany. He afterwards attempted to extend his frontiers on the side of Turkey, and in the mean time lost Belgium. Equally unfortunate, when he wished to relax the bondage of the slave, or rivet the chains of the freeman, he beheld Hungary, Bohemia, and the Low-countries, by turns in insurrection; and, by a strange singularity, at the same time forced the nobility of one part of his dominions into a contest against the throne, and the clergy of another into an insurrection in behalf of the people.

Cut off at length by a fatal disease in the midst of his disastrous projects, and prevented by death perhaps from experiencing new humiliations, he had been succeeded on the imperial throne by his brother Leopold. This amiable prince exhibited great talents for government, while only grand-duke of Tuscany. He had repressed the usurpations of the church of Rome, rendered his Italian states happy by means of a sage administration, and contributed greatly to his own glory, by a marked protection to Beccaria and Filiangheri, both of whom had exhibited their talents in the improvement of that barbarous code of criminal jurisdiction, left as a legacy to civilised Europe, by Europe ignorant and enslaved.

Nor was his conduct on his first accession to the hereditary dominions of Austria, and his election to the imperial throne, unworthy of his former reputation. Perceiving the critical situation of public affairs, the new emperor instantly withdrew from a war in which his brother had reaped neither glory nor success, and that too without giving umbrage to the haughty Catharine. He contrived at the same time to quiet the jealousies, and even to disarm the resentments, of the people of Flanders and Brabant. To effect this, it was necessary for him to beguile the policy and lull to sleep the rivalship of the house of Brandenburgh. He accordingly prevailed upon Frederick-William to withdraw his secret protection from the insurgents; to disgrace his minister Hertzberg, who had supported the glory of the Prussian throne during half a century; and to declare in an official note, that he could not entrust the present age with the secret motives that influenced his conduct.*

The convention of Reichenbach† produced a strict alliance between Austria and Prussia, restored the Low-countries to the head of the empire, procured for Frederick-William the pompous title of pacificator of Europe, gave rise to an accommodation between Russia and Sweden, and finally led to the formidable coalition against France.

---

* "Que son changement de système étoit déterminé par des motifs secrets d'une haute importance, & de nature *à n'être dévoilés qu'aux yeux de la postérité.*"

† July 27, 1790.

Affected by the situation of the king, alarmed for the fate of a sister, and perhaps desirous also to signalise his reign by some brilliant exploit, Leopold seems to have determined on a war, which, unable to prosecute in his own person, he was forced to bequeath as a legacy to his son and successor Francis II. While visiting his Italian dominions in 1791, he is said to have concerted a plan with the envoys of two great powers ‡ for intermeddling with the internal concerns of a third *; and soon after this, the celebrated interview took place between his imperial majesty and the king of Prussia, at Pilnitz; in consequence of which, measures of an alarming nature were said to have been adopted relative to France; and, if we are to give credit to assertions, the dismemberment of that kingdom was actually determined upon.†

The position of Europe at this period, and the origin of the continental confederacy, have been here briefly stated and explained. Certain it is, that the situation of the kingdom alluded to, had become daily more critical; for the general war, hitherto so favourable to the progress of the revolution, had now subsided, and new and alarming alliances taken place. The emigrants assembled in arms, and, burning with the desire of vengeance, already menaced the frontiers. Louis XVI. carried on a secret correspondence with several of the neighbouring princes; the elector of Treves had notoriously violated the rules of neutrality, and the laws of nations; his capital had become the head-quarters of the exiled princes and nobility, and the chief of the empire finally declared himself ready to afford protection to the dominions of the aggressor. In short, it can no longer be denied, that a formidable and hostile combination was now actually formed against France; and in the place of Gustavus III. cut off by a sudden and violent death, Frederick-William II. became the Agamemnon of a league determined to devote modern Paris, like Troy of old, to all the horrors of fire, pillage, and destruction.

---

* Lord Elgin and M. Bischofswerder.

† Tableau Histor. & Polit. de l'Europe, &c. par L. P. Segur, tome ii. p. 182, 2d edit.

‡ See the Appendix, D.

But although the most numerous and best disciplined armies in Europe were actually destined for so romantic an undertaking, yet, even at this period, the hardihood rather than the feasibility of the enterprise seemed entitled to the admiration of calm and considerate observers. In whatever point of view France may be contemplated, her importance in the scale of European politics must be allowed to have been still immense.

A central position afforded great advantages in point of celerity and exertion. A salubrious climate and an excellent soil were favourable to agriculture, trade, and manufactures. Her territories were at once compact and extensive, consisting of 157,924 square miles, according to the testimony of one author, and 160,000 of another*. Her population, calculated at from 24 to 25,000,000 of inhabitants†, was greater than that of any other individual state on the old continent; she possessed upwards of one hundred cities and large towns, besides two hundred navigable rivers; her provinces were intersected in every direction by spacious roads; some of which were actually paved for the purpose of transporting artillery; while an immense canal seemed to unite all the advantages of two distant seas, on purpose to embellish and enrich her empire. Part of her frontiers were at once defined and defended by the Alps, the Pyrenéan mountains, and a triple chain of fortresses either erected or improved by the genius of Vauban. The remainder of this immense outline appeared to be protected by insurmountable barriers, and was extremely favourable to commercial enterprise; for her shores were watered by the Ocean, the Mediterranean,

---

* The following are three different estimates, the lowest of which has been quoted in the text.

EXTENT OF FRANCE.

157,924 square miles, according to Necker.
160,000 . . . . . Busching.
163,000 . . . . . Statistische Uebersicht.

† POPULATION.

24,800,000 inhabitants, Necker.
25,300,000 . . . Schloezer.
26,000,000 . . . . Busching.

and the channel, which seemed to invite the commerce of the Levant, the Atlantic, and the narrow seas; while her ports and harbours, some of which were formed by the hand of nature, and others by the unceasing industry of art, conferred great, permanent, and inestimable advantages.

Nor did she appear less formidable in another point of view: for her revenues amounted to 18,000,000 of pounds sterling*; while her standing army at a peace establishment was estimated at 138,000 effective men†, and her navy consisted of seventy-two sail of the line.

Nor ought it to be omitted here, that France had experienced nearly eight years' of repose since the conclusion of a war, during which her fleets had covered the ocean in both hemispheres, and, in conjunction with those of her ally, had actually lorded it for a moment over the narrow seas. Even when at length forced to succumb in the west to the fortune and experience of a Rodney, she had at times triumphed in the East by the bravery and abilities of a Suffrein. Her army too had been successful in some of the isles of, as well as on, the Atlantic continent; and she boasted of having liberated America from the dominion of an ancient rival, and of having concluded her contest against England with glory and success.

But it must be allowed that this specious picture of prosperity was, in some respects, false and delusive: her territories, her cities, her towns, and her rivers, still remained; but her population was beginning to be diminished by emigration, and her strength seemed to be lessened by intestine divisions. Of her troops, some had declared for the people, and some for the king, while a large portion wavered between ancient

---

* The gross amount of the public revenue was estimated by M. Necker at at 600,000,000 of livres, a sum equal to 25,000 000*l.* sterling: and the whole of the public expenditure at 610,000,000 of livres: but the Compte Rendu states the net produce at only 18,000,000*l.* sterling.

† The army of France has been generally calculated at 150,000 men; and it appears that in 1784 she actually possessed a total of 242,924, if we are to give credit to a work entitled "Etat Milit. de France, par Roussel, pour l'Année 1785."

principles and modern innovations. Her trade and commerce, acted upon by the general pressure, began to decay; the fine arts were in danger of being entirely neglected; her manufactures were already reduced to a languishing condition; a national debt, which even in 1784 was estimated at 3400,000,000 of livres*, after undermining the superstructure of the monarchy, threatened the new constitution with ruin; while the navy, which was suffered to fall into decay because chiefly officered by discontented nobles, could not be of any service in a war with the great continental powers.

But, on the other hand, a body of national guards amounting to almost four millions of fighting men, the easy acquisition and unbounded circulation of paper money, the spirit infused by a love of liberty, the energy produced by the collision of opinions, the hope arising out of a better form of government, and even the despair incident to such a novel and disastrous situation, operated as so many resources, unknown to the ancient monarchy. To these are to be added, the impulse derived from national pride, the vigour originating from a representative government, and the patriotism engrafted on republican institutions; in fine, the direful experience of eleven years hath at length demonstrated the folly and inefficacy of this armed coalition of kings against the independence of millions determined to be free. The vulgar herd of superficial observers was at first fascinated by the glitter of pomp and parade; but those conversant with history had already learned, from the resistance of a single city†, and the fate of a powerful league‡, that associations for the purposes of conquest prove in general less fatal to the state against which they are directed, than to the powers in whose behalf they are formed,

It was assuredly the interest, and appears also to have been the general wish, of the French, after they had achieved their liberties, to cultivate the inestimable blessings that arise out of freedom and tranquillity. But this happiness was interdicted. All the branches of the royal family languished un-

---

* See Appendix, E. † Venice. ‡ That of Cambray.

ceasingly after the ancient despotism; while some of the popular leaders, openly availing themselves of this pretext, but secretly hostile to a plan of government which neither gratified their ambition nor ensured their safety, had become anxious for another change. Both perhaps would have been disappointed, and a constitutional king might have swayed the sceptre of a limited monarchy for ages, had not an event which at first seemed to augur an increase of power, and stability to royalty, suddenly rooted up its foundations, produced some of the most atrocious assassinations recorded in the history of modern times, and finally established a republican form of government in the place of a throne.

While the conduct of the partisans of public liberty had been viewed with enmity and suspicion in every court of Europe, full credit was given to the partial and interested accounts of the emigrants. The fugitive princes and grandees, reduced to the situation of exiles, could not always avoid following their example. They of course exaggerated the calamities of France. The legislative assembly was depicted by them as an audacious rather than a powerful faction; the troops, false to their oaths, were represented as true alone to the king; while the national guards were denominated a herd of timid tradesmen, incapable of beholding a foreign enemy without trepidation and dismay. These assertions were now about to be put to the proof.

Several of the great continental powers clearly indicated by their movements that numerous armies would be soon brought into action; and those Frenchmen who had either fled or been driven from their native country already appeared in arms as the precursors of their vengeance.

The refugees, armed and regimented, were at this very moment quartered at Aeth in the Austrian Hainault, whence they had made an ineffectual attempt to surprise the citadel of Valenciennes. A battalion of infantry had at the same time deserted from Dunkirk, and carried off its colours and military chest to the Low-countries; while a congress was announced at Aix-la-Chappelle, at which the emigrants pretended that the fate of France was to be decided*. In addition

* Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

to this, the court of Vienna, as has been already observed, not content with interposing in the amicable negociations carrying on with the German princes, for an indemnification on account of their claims in Alsace, actually threatened to get them annulled by the diet of the empire, and even excited the circles to depart from their neutrality.

The nomination of the new ministers seemed to redouble its enmity, and present fresh obstacles to an amicable adjustment; the ambassador there also exhibited great unwillingness to maintain the dignity of France, and expressed a wish to resign his diplomatic character. Dumouriez, being resolved to avoid the errors of his predecessor*, determined to negociate in a manner worthy of the occasion; but the prince de Kaunitz no longer deigned to treat with M. de Noailles in person, having referred the dispute entirely to the management of the count de Cobentzel, who wished to impose conditions incompatible with the honour of the nation. He insisted on the re-establishment of the monarchy, as it was in June, 1789; the restitution of the property of the clergy; the reinstatement of the German princes in their feudal claims on Alsace; and the restoration of Avignon and Venassin to the sovereign pontiff. The minister for foreign affairs now deemed it incumbent on him to deliver a report to the assembly, containing an account of the proceedings of this cabinet, and inferred, from the hopeless state of the negociations, that the nation ought to consider itself *in a state of war*. The indignation was general on hearing the terms exacted in the name of the emperor; it was asked, by what right did the court of Vienna pretend to interpose either in the internal affairs of an independent nation, or in a dispute about territorial possessions, between France and the Pope, or France and the German princes? All exclaimed that it was necessary to maintain the glory of their country; and the idea of hostilities, hitherto so much dreaded, became at length popular.

The whole of the party of the Gironde declared itself unequivocally in favour of this measure; and Brissot, who

* M. Delessart.

supported it with all his influence, afterwards asserted, that he meditated even then the abolition of royalty, knowing that the king, who was entrusted by the constitution with the direction of the armies, would act in such a manner as to render his deposition inevitable.

The Jacobins, who still maintained a high character for patriotism, also adopted the proposition with enthusiasm, and appeared anxious at the same time to vindicate the honour of the nation, to punish the house of Austria for its insolent interference, and watch the conduct of the executive power with a jealous and suspicious eye. To the surprise of every one, Robespierre openly declared himself averse from the contest, and actually lost his popularity, until the disastrous events, attendant on the first invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, in conjunction with the equivocal conduct of the court, appeared for a time to justify his prudence.

The feuillans, too, secretly detested this measure, but they were afraid to stem the current of public sentiment, and avow their opinions in opposition to the general voice; nor did they at first choose to exhibit the least dislike to the awful struggle that was about to ensue, as they found it impossible to apologise for the aggressions, or justify the conduct, of the house of Austria.

Thus the first war in which France found herself involved in consequence of the revolution, appears not only to have been popular, but in many respects legitimate. Troops and magazines had been collected and embodied in a neutral country; the expatriated princes, nobles, and body guards, were assembled in hostile array at Coblentz; the emigrants of all descriptions were publicly encouraged and protected; a regiment of the line had been seduced; attempts had been made to obtain possession of the fortresses; a constitutional king was deemed incapable of the exercise of his functions; all the reforms effected since the convocation of the states-general were considered as void; the court of Vienna had refused either to disarm or renounce the league into which it had entered; demands had been made to restore to the clergy their tithes, to the nobles their exclusive privileges, to the people their ancient bondage: while a foreign prince had

presumed to violate the bounds of decency and decorum, by thus prescribing the terms, in compliance with which a great, free, and independent people, were to be permitted to regulate and govern themselves.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS

ARISING OUT OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BOOK I.

1792.

CHAP. I.

Declaration of War—Campaign of 1792—*Invasion of the Austrian Low-countries—Defeat and shameful Conduct of the French—Disputes in the Cabinet—Situation of the King.*

NEGOCIATIONS having proved unavailing, and remonstrances being treated with contempt, France was at length reduced to the terrible alternative of arms. The latent genius of a nation but too prone to war was thus unfortunately aroused; and as it appeared far better to anticipate than to avoid the blow, the first declaration of hostilities originated with the country that deemed itself aggrieved.

Louis XVI. had, at length, yielded to the clamours of the people, the representations of the legislature, and the advice of his cabinet, all of whom loudly invoked a contest, which they deemed alike necessary for the protection of civil liberty and national independence. His majesty accordingly repaired to the national assembly, and being surrounded by his ministers, who, on this occasion, were unanimous in favour of vigorous measures, he stated the critical situation of France, in respect to the house of Austria, in a suitable exordium. Dumouriez, who presided in the department for fo-

reign affairs, then read the following address to the king of the French from the members of his council:

"When you took an oath of fidelity to the constitution, you became, Sire, the object of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop, no motive of alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety, could prevent their enmity. Your ancient allies erased your name out of the list of despots, and from that moment obliterated every idea of fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone beyond the frontiers to assist a guilty league against France: they wish to carry into the bosom of their native country both fire and the sword. Their rage, however, would have been impotent, if foreign princes had not seconded and encouraged their criminal practices.

"The house of Austria hath done every thing to increase their audacity;—the house of Austria, which ever since the treaty of 1756, found in us good and faithful allies! This treaty, Sire, subjected us to the ambitious views of that power, and involved us in all her wars, during which she constantly invoked our assistance in the quality of confederates. We have been but too prodigal of our blood, in the cruel tragedy of despotism; and the instant we would be no longer governed for interested purposes, we were considered as an enemy.

"It was Austria which stirred up against France that restless northern potentate, whose tyrannical phrensy at last made him fall by the hands of an assassin. It was Austria, which advised one party of Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna of the 18th of February was in truth a declaration of war; for M. Kaunitz there avows the league of the powers combined against France: and the death of Leopold has not occasioned any change in this system of ambition.

"The note of the 18th of March is the *ultimatum* of the court of Vienna, and is still more provoking than the former; for the king of Hungary there expresses a wish, that we should submit our constitution to his revision, and he does not dissemble the project of arming Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

"SIRE," continues the minister, "in entrusting me with the administration of foreign affairs, you have imposed the task of declaring to you the truth: I proceed to fulfil it. It results from the measures just alluded to, that the treaty of 1756 is violated on the side of Austria; that the league of foreign powers is an act of hostility against France; and that you ought instantly to order M. Noailles, your ambassador, to leave the court of Vienna without taking leave. The troops of Austria are already on their march; camps are marked out, and fortresses are building. The nation, by its oath on the 14th of July, has declared, that any man who shall accede to an unconstitutional negociation becomes a traitor. The delay granted to Austria is expired; your honour is attacked; the nation is insulted; therefore no other part remains for your majesty, but to make to the national assembly the formal proposition of declaring war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary."

WHEN the minister had concluded, the king resumed his speech:

"You have heard," said he, "the decision of the members of my council. I adopt their determination. It is in exact conformity to the wish of the assembly and many districts of France: it appears to me, in short, to be the wish of the nation.

"FRENCHMEN prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to a humiliating situation, that alike affects our constitution and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert this measure—but I now deem it indispensable. I come, therefore, in the terms of the constitution, *to propose to you formally to declare war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.*"

ON this the president replied:

"SIRE, the assembly will proceed to deliberate on the proposition just made by your majesty, and it will notify the result by means of a message."

WHEN the king had retired, the diplomatic committee immediately withdrew; and on its return presented the following decree, which was instantly and unanimously adopted by the representative body:

"THE national assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king; considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, hath continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it hath excited and formed a league in concert with several powers of Europe, against the independence and security of the nation;

"THAT Francis I. king of Hungary and Bohemia, hath, by his notes of the 18th of March, and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this league;

"THAT, notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of March 11, 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment the troops on the frontiers, he hath continued and increased his hostile preparations;

"THAT he hath formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring, that he would support the pretensions of the German princes who have possessions in France, to whom the French nation hath continued to hold out indemnities;

"THAT he hath attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the malecontents, by means of a combination of foreign powers;

"CONSIDERING, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the king of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negociation, the redress of these different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war; decrees, that there exists a case of urgency.

"THE national assembly accordingly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the rights of any people, but only to take up arms in defence of their liberty and independence; that the war into which they are now compelled to enter, is not a contest of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people, against the unjust oppression of a monarch;

"THAT the French will never confound their brethren with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to soften

the rigours of war; to preserve property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, as well as to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from hostilities;

"THAT they will adopt all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of their enemies, shall join their standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; and that they will favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France:

"THE national assembly, accordingly, after deliberating on the formal propositions of the king of the French, hereby decrees war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia."

ALTHOUGH, in consequence of the necessary formalities, it was late in the evening before the representatives of the nation had assented to the demand of his majesty, the decree was immediately carried to the palace, and received the royal sanction at ten o'clock. This intelligence was communicated by extraordinary couriers to all the ambassadors at foreign courts, and also to all the departments. Prompt and vigorous means were adopted for increasing the troops, supplying the garrisons, and furnishing the magazines; measures which, however obvious, had hitherto been most shamefully neglected. Such was the deficiency of fire-arms in particular, that agents were dispatched to different parts of Europe, and even to America, on purpose to obtain them.

THE assembly also published an address to the citizens armed for the defence of their country, which tended not a little to inflame the minds of the people, and infuse a martial spirit into the nation.

"THE fate of our liberty," said they, "that perhaps of the whole world, is in your hands. We do not tell you of our confidence: like your courage, it is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and when the king proposed to us, at length, to avenge the outrage committed against the dignity of the nation, we resisted for a long time the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A free people recurs to arms with regret, but it does not recur in vain. The shame and tortures incident to an eternal servi-

tude, would not be an adequate punishment for a nation who should suffer their liberty to be wrested from them after having conquered it.

"And what object can be more worthy of your courage? The period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present, yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer, or we must return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of vexation, oppression, and servitude. Your own individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, is thus intimately connected with the safety of the country.

"But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtue to courage. The men whom we fight to-day, are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle; firm during misfortunes; modest after victory; generous to the vanquished;—such are a free people.

"The laws will punish with just severity all outrages against the rights of nations, and the still more sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain for ever the gratitude and the homage of the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of their country.

"As for us, immoveable in the midst of political storms, we will carefully watch over all the machinations of all the enemies of the empire. The world shall determine, whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of an arbitrary king. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny: we will keep our oath—'Death! death! or victory and equality!'"

But not content with arousing the minds of the people, by means of addresses, the national assembly passed a vote for augmenting the army to 450,000 men, while care was taken, at the same time, to give strength and efficacy to the measures of the new administration, by placing funds at their disposal sufficient for every possible emergency. The *assignats*, an engine still more formidable perhaps, during the course

of the revolutionary warfare, than even the bayonets of the soldiery, was recurred to upon this occasion; and near 300,000,000 of livres, in paper money, which as yet had experienced but little depreciation, were soon after voted for the extraordinary services of the treasury.

THREE separate bodies of troops had already been formed along the frontiers, from Switzerland to Dunkirk, under the direction of three commanders, enjoying at this period, not only the reputation of great military talents, but also the confidence of the nation. The marshal de Rochambeau, who had already distinguished himself during the seven-years' war, as well as in America, left Paris the day after the declaration of hostilities, on purpose to assume the command of the northern army. He immediately established his head quarters at Valenciennes, and gave orders to form three camps, in order to cover that part of the country, and be able, as occasion served, to commence offensive operations against the enemy. The troops under his command, by means of draughts from the garrisons, might be increased from thirty to thirty-five thousand men; d'Harville, Biron, Delbeck, and d'Aumont, served under him.

THE marquis de la Fayette, who had also acquired celebrity by his exploits on the Transatlantic continent, was placed at the head of the army of the centre: he fixed his headquarters at Metz, and occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Luneville. He had upwards of 20,000 men at his disposal, and was so posted, as to continue the line of defence from the Meuse to the Moselle; the general officers under his command consisted of de Wittgeinstein, de Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Defranc.

THE army of the Rhine was entrusted to marshal Luckner, a foreigner who had been invited into the service of France, and of whose talents high expectations had been formed, which were by no means realised in the sequel. The forces under his direction amounted to nearly fifty thousand men, and soon extended from Laudau to the frontiers of the Swiss cantons, in consequence of the seizure of the important pass of Porentrui. Berthier, Lameth, and Jarry, occupied subordinate situations.

The defenceless state of the Low-countries exhibited a vulnerable point, where the enemy might be attacked with equal ease and advantage; and it was accordingly determined to wrest these fertile possessions from the house of Austria, and thus retaliate for the aggressions lately committed against France. That country, since known by the name of Belgium, had, at a former period, enjoyed a large portion of happiness and prosperity, in consequence of its free constitution and commercial intercourse with the different nations of Europe; but it no sooner formed a portion of a great monarchy, than the wise policy which had guided the princes of the house of Burgundy ceased to operate; trade and manufactures were discouraged by the genius of a military government, and the blessings which nature seemed to pour into its lap were contemptuously rejected in consequence of the sacrifice of the navigation of the Scheldt.

Possessing a soil of an admirable quality, the capitals of the more opulent inhabitants, no longer employed in traffic as before, were now diverted into another channel; agriculture was thus taught to flourish, and wealth to flow in from a new source. The house of Austria, notwithstanding its impolitic conduct, still continued to derive immense advantages from the possession of these territories. Its government constituted an appanage for a younger branch of the imperial family; and it was there that, in addition to fixed subsidies and voluntary contributions, loans were obtained during the time of war. But the imprudence of some of the late princes had alienated the affections of a people who, by a singular union of contrarieties, united a love of liberty with an ardent superstition, and a reverence bordering on idolatry for priests to an extreme jealousy of their civil rulers.

Joseph II. with the usual inconsistency of his character, at the same time that he dismantled the fortresses in Flanders, contrived to violate the privileges and the prejudices of the people; and, in exact proportion as he diminished the means of coercion, increased at once the force and the power of resistance. This extraordinary conduct had, at length, produced a war, in which the insurgents, animated by a great cause, and supported by several neighbouring powers, at first

proved victorious ; in consequence, however, of their own animosities, no less than the defection of their allies, the imperial arms at length proved triumphant: but these distant territories, although subjugated by, were not re-united to the house of Austria ; for a people whose allegiance could scarcely be ensured by thirty thousand soldiers was prepared to consider an invader, not as an enemy, but a deliverer. These considerations, equally obvious and important, were neither overlooked nor neglected by the ministers who now formed the cabinet council of France.

Dumouriez, who, without possessing the title of prime-minister, aspired to the direction of every thing, at this moment conducted the war department, as well as that of foreign affairs. He determined to commence the campaign by seizing on the Austrian Netherlands, with an army of forty thousand men, and drew up a plan* of operations, which was approved by the council, and according to which there were to be two real and two false attacks. But the three generals,

---

* Here follows the plan of the campaign, as detailed by the projector himself. (See La Vie du Général Dumouriez, t. II)

" La Fayette, with a detachment of ten thousand men, followed by the rest of his army, was to have filed off by Givet, and taken possession of Namur ; where, at that time, there was only a single battalion of Walloons, more than the half of whom had entered into a conspiracy to desert, on the appearance of the French. Thence he was to have marched towards Brussels, or Liege, for the first operation alone was prescribed to him ; as to every thing else, he was at liberty to follow his own judgment. This movement was to be executed between the 30th of April and the 2d of May.

" At the same period, lieutenant-general Biron was to set out from Valenciennes with ten thousand men, and to march towards Mons, where the Austrian general Beaulieu was posted with two thousand five hundred troops, who were reinforced to five thousand.

" A general officer was to be dispatched the very same day from Lisle, by lieutenant-general d'Aummont, with three thousand six hundred men : these were to follow the road leading to Tournay, with orders to push for that town, if they met with no resistance, to place a garrison in its citadel, and then either to join general Biron, or to execute any orders he might send. But it was mentioned in the instructions, that if the Belgians did not seem friendly, and would not declare themselves, he was to stop at Bessieux in the territories of France, and at the very extremity of the fron-

without consulting the cabinet, had already concerted among themselves a different scheme for obtaining the same object. In conformity to this, la Fayette was to have been entrusted with the execution of the enterprise against the Austrian Low-countries, at the head of fifty thousand men; Rochambeau intended to support him by means of a second army; while a third was destined to take possession of Mentz*. In addition to this opposition of sentiments, a settled enmity actually subsisted between Dumouriez on the one part, and la Fayette and Rochambeau on the other; which, with other unforeseen events, contributed to produce the disasters that ensued.

After much useful time had been wasted in explanation and disputes, Biron at length obtained the command of a

---

tier; because in that case, this was only meant as a false attack, and therefore the safety of the detachment was not to be endangered.

"Carle, a major-general, and commanding officer of Dunkirk, was also to sally forth at the head of twelve hundred men, and march towards Furnes, to *feel the pulse* of the Flemmings; he was to conduct himself agreeably to the progress of the other troops, and either to return to Dunkirk, or to remain in the field, and strengthen himself by means of new troops. This general attack was to have been made with about forty thousand men, a number fully sufficient for the first operations. The war had only been declared ten days, and neither orders nor troops could arrive from Vienna for defending the country; which, in addition to this, was extremely well disposed. Had the scheme been confided to a man of genius, equally able, active, and willing, the success would have been infallible.

"This army was to have been quickly reinforced by more than thirty thousand infantry, consisting of national battalions raised during the preceding summer in the northern and western departments of France. A second levy was ordered; and the interior in the mean time furnished several regiments of cavalry, which were now approaching Flanders. Thus, when the emperor would have assembled a body of troops in June or July, with an intention to reconquer the Low-countries, he would have been obliged to oppose la Fayette at the head of upwards of seventy-five thousand Frenchmen, and a whole country in a state of insurrection. In short, this is precisely the very same plan that general Dumouriez himself afterwards carried into execution, with a greater force indeed, but also against a far more powerful defence."

* Tableau Hist. & Polit. de l'Europe, par P. Segur, t. II. p. 239.

body of troops belonging to the army of Rochambeau, with which he set out from Valenciennes, and encamped at Quievrain on the 1st of May. Having proceeded as far as Bossu, he there fell in with some light troops posted at that place by Beaulieu, a gallant and experienced officer, who had drawn up the main body of his little army on the heights above Mons. On this, two regiments of French dragoons, without seeing the main body of the enemy, immediately betook themselves to flight, exclaiming, that they were surrounded and betrayed. The infantry, which had been thrown into disorder by the misconduct of the cavalry, also fled; and such was the panic terror with which they were seized, that they suffered themselves to be pursued by five or six hundred Hulans and chasseurs, and lost their camp equipage, baggage, and even the military chest.

Rochambeau, on hearing of this disaster, immediately marched from Valenciennes with a few regiments to cover the retreat of the fugitives, who now entered that fortress, and no sooner found themselves in safety than they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and exhibited an eager desire to murder the marshal, and the general officers, who had been so lately the unwilling witnesses of their disgrace.

On the same day and hour, major-general Theobald Dillon left Lisle, and experienced a similar fate. Having arrived at Bessieu with two thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, he found himself opposed by major-general Happencourt, with a body of Austrians from Tournay, who did not, however, exceed eight or nine hundred men. No sooner had these come in sight, than the regiments of cavalry, after uttering the same cry of "treason! treason!" as was heard among the horse under Biron, rushed also through the foot, and the whole detachment returned back without being pursued, abandoning the artillery and baggage with the most shameful indifference*.

* Here follows a brief account of these disasters, copied from the proceedings of the national assembly. It is to be remarked, however, that, in consequence of the hurry and confusion, the details are not entirely accurate.

Dillon having entered Lisle soon after the main body, was instantly attacked and murdered by his fugitive army; which, having thus added perfidy to cowardice, hung his corpse along with that of lieutenant-colonel Berthois of the engineers on a gallows, while the populace, who had joined the ferocious soldiery, committed every species of excess, and accused all the surviving officers of being *Aristocrats**.

"May 1. The minister of war announced, that a detachment of the garrison of Lisle had sallied forth on the evening of the 28th ult. in order to proceed towards Tournay, under the command of M. Dillon; but that the troops were driven back to Lisle, after experiencing the most horrible defeat: that M. Dillon, who was equally zealous in the service of his country, and the defence of the constitution, lost his life near that very city, which ought to have protected his defeat; and that he perished by the hands of those very men for whom and with whom he had fought. *(The assembly here shuddered with indignation.)*

"The minister added, that M. Chamot brother to the adjutant-general, M. Berthois an officer of engineers, a priest, and some Austrian chasseurs who had been taken prisoners, were hanged at Lisle."

"May 3. The minister at war informed the assembly of the defeat of the French forces at Mons, under M. Biron, and of their retreat to Valenciennes, with the loss of two hundred and fifty men killed, a considerable number taken prisoners, and five pieces of cannon."

"May 4. M. Dumouriez read a letter from M. Rochambeau to the king, informing his majesty of the ill success of the troops under his command, whom he had been obliged to march into the territories of the king of Hungary, in consequence of orders from the ministers, which were totally opposite to the instructions of the 17th and 22d of April, and the cause of the failure of the enterprise. He concludes by requesting leave to resign.

"The minister, at the same time, entreated the assembly to adopt some vigorous measures for the security of the generals; and also to send commissioners to Lisle, to enquire into the events that had occurred there, and make an example of such as might be found guilty."

* Count Theobald Dillon, descended from an ancient Irish family, which had followed the fortunes of the house of Stuart, was a colonel in the service of France anterior to the revolution, and had recently been invested with the rank of *maréchal de camp*. It was at first asserted, even in Paris, that he had betrayed his army and deserved his fate; but the national assembly did justice to his memory, June 9, 1792, having on that day voted him funeral honours; and not content with bestowing 800 livres of pension on each of his

At length la Fayette, who was to have attacked Namur with his whole army, arrived at Givet with only ten thousand men. There he found himself entirely destitute of camp equipage, forage, provisions, and baggage waggons; he at the same time received an account of the disasters that had occurred in the neighbourhood of Mons and Tournay, on which he determined to discontinue his operations. One of his detachments, however, conducted itself with great bravery; for a body of three thousand men, under the command of Gouvion, having been attacked near Bovines by the Austrians, that officer, after a gallant defence, retired under the cannon of Philippeville, and lost his life in vindicating the honour of his country.

These disasters, which in the two former instances originated with the cavalry, who, at the commencement of the war, were generally disaffected, threw Paris into consternation. The assembly was greatly irritated against Dumouriez; because, not content with the direction of his own, he had presumed to regulate the war department; and he was actually in danger of being sent to Orleans: nor was this all, for two of the generals addressed one letter to the king, and another to the legislative body, in which they observed, "that they could no longer execute the orders of an ignorant council, and a presumptuous minister." They both complained, at the same time, that they had been forced to open the campaign without either provisions or camp equipage. On the other hand, it was replied on the part of Dumouriez, that when the enemy pillaged the camp of Quievrain, tents and necessaries for twenty-two thousand men were found there; that the detachment under Dillon had not only tents and baggage, but two thousand five hundred blankets; that la Fayette should have marched with his whole army instead of only 10,000 men, and so far from desisting, on hearing of

---

children, presented 1500 more to Josephina Viesville, a young lady, to whom he was to have been married. The widow and children of lieutenant-colonel Peter-François Berthois experienced a similar remuneration; and the military decoration, on the motion of Carnot, was bestowed on their two aides-de-camp.

the checks before Mons and Tournay, ought, on the contrary, to have taken Namur, in order to compensate for the disgraces that had occurred in Flanders.

The unfortunate commencement of the campaign, not only produced a number of desertions*, but also occasioned the resignation of marshal Rochambeau†, the commander in chief of the northern army ; and of de Grave, the minister for the war department : the latter was succeeded by Servan, and the former by Luckner.

---

* PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—*May* 14.

" The minister at war gave an account of the late desertions. However afflicting they might seem, the flight of traitors, he said, was much less dangerous than their presence in the army. The fourth regiment, formerly called the Saxon hussars, had deserted in a body with their colonel at their head, who told them that M. Luckner, &c. were gone over to the enemy ; and that the troops of the line who staid behind were to be mixed by companies with the national guards, in order to be put to the sword more easily on the first plausible pretext. Eighteen of the privates, however, returned next day.

" The first company of the Berchiny hussars, with the colonel and most of the officers, also deserted ; but the rest of the soldiers refused to follow.

" Amidst these disgraceful instances of defection, he mentioned with pleasure that one hundred and fifty of the national guards of Strasburgh, in circumstances to relinquish their civil avocations, without great inconvenience either to themselves or families, had offered their services, which were accepted.

" On the other hand, the fifteenth regiment of cavalry, formerly known by the name of the Royal Allemand, was prevailed upon to move off with arms and baggage from St. Avold ; but many of the privates immediately returned the moment they found that they had been betrayed by their officers."

† MARSHAL ROCHAMBEAU.—The count de Rochambeau acquired considerable reputation during the seven years' war, and distinguished himself repeatedly at the head of the regiment of Auvergne, of which he was colonel. Having been promoted successively to the rank of *maréchal de camp*, inspector, and lieutenant-general, his celebrity designated him as an officer worthy of being entrusted with the command of the French troops in America ; and the capture of the gallant Cornwallis, although effected by a far superior army, commanded by Washington and him in conjunction, added not a little to his high character.

As he appeared to incline towards the principles which produced the revolution, Rochambeau was employed and obtained a blue rib-

The two parties in the cabinet were now pretty equally balanced in point of numbers; but, in consequence of the neutrality of Duranthon, Dumouriez sometimes found himself in a minority. Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, in conformity to their principles, were desirous that the king should dismiss his nonjuring confessor, and appoint a secretary to the council; the latter proposition was in exact conformity

---

band from his sovereign, soon after that event had taken place; and on the flight of the king, he presented himself at the bar of the assembly, where he took an oath, implying unconditional obedience to the orders of the legislature.

At length he was nominated a marshal of France, and appointed to the direction of the northern army, but he achieved nothing memorable: this has been attributed to the policy of Dumouriez, then minister at war, who would not permit any of the old generals to distinguish themselves, he himself having already aspired to the chief command.

Rochambeau, disgusted at being left at Lisle while his army was in the field, gave in his resignation, in May, 1792, soon after the defeat of one of his divisions at Quievrain, to which Biron had marched in consequence of secret orders from the minister.

"Rochambeau," says Dumouriez, "was one of those who had testified the greatest dislike to the new minister, and also to the declaration of war. He had plainly told D. that he was *a fool:* and that he might avoid transacting business either with him or Degrave, whose youth did not inspire much confidence, he set out in a pet for his command.

"This general had displayed much skill in the art of war, and possessed great experience; but his faculties were blunted by age, and an habitual state of ill health completely deprived him of his activity. Irritated, discontented with every thing about him; an enemy to the revolution, although it had made him a marshal of France; and beset by the *feuillans*, some of whom were his general officers; he had announced that discipline was entirely restored among his troops: he afterwards experienced the contrary, and found that it was impossible to depend upon an army whose confidence neither himself nor those under him had obtained. This is the sole motive by which the French soldiery have been at all times influenced, but more especially since that period, when a systematical disorganisation was encouraged, and licence was regarded as the ægis of public liberty." La Vie de Dumouriez, t. II.

After his resignation, marshal Rochambeau was frequently consulted by the governing powers relative to military affairs; and still retained sufficient credit to obtain a high rank in the army for his son; who, after serving with applause under Biron, was appointed to a separate command in the West Indies.

to the constitutional code, but his majesty was averse from both, and he was supported in his opposition by three of the members. Another subject of dispute, however, occurred soon after, and rendered a schism inevitable. The new minister at war, wishing to strengthen the popular cause, transmitted a letter to the president of the national assembly, proposing a decree for embodying and encamping twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Paris on the 14th of July. The Girondists, who were at this period in the plenitude of their power, and possessed a majority in the assembly, warmly supported the motion, which was accordingly carried in the affirmative, but the king determined to oppose his *veto*. On this, Roland drew up a letter to his majesty, which he read at the council-board; and in which, after treating him as a perjured prince, he reminded the monarch of the illegality of his conduct respecting his confessor; of the unconstitutional manner in which his body guards had been formed; the imprudent conduct of the queen; the intrigues of the court; and of the couriers continually dispatched to Vienna and Coblentz. He then concluded by pressing his majesty to sanction the decrees relative to the army of federates, and the banishing the nonjuring clergy; and threatened, in case of refusal, to give in his resignation, and to awaken the nation relative to its danger.

Immediately after this, Dumouriez had an audience of the king and queen, in which it was agreed that Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, should be dismissed: this resolution was accordingly communicated to them, and a new administration was formed. In consequence of these arrangements, the minister for foreign affairs became secretary at war: but he held this appointment during four days only; for, at the end of that period, the king having refused to sanction the two decrees, in conformity to his solemn promise to Dumouriez, the members resigned, and were succeeded by a new ministry, nominated by the feuillant party, which now appeared to be devoted to, and possessed great influence at court.

In the mean time, Luckner, who had lately passed through Paris, in his way to the northern army, agreed, at the entrea-

ty of Dumouriez, to re-establish the offensive system of war in the Low-countries, and restore confidence to the troops, and to the nation. Accordingly, on his arrival at head-quarters, after effecting some slight changes, he advanced into the Austrian territories, and seized on Ypres, Courtrai, and Menin, with a body of twenty-two thousand men; but no sooner did he hear that Dumouriez had given in his resignation, than he determined to return, complaining that he had been inveigled into the enterprise. Previously to his departure, however, the suburbs of Courtrai were burnt, without either provocation or necessity, within an hour before its evacuation, and that too under pretext of enabling the French to defend it.

As it was the interest of the nation to conciliate the good opinion of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, this was obviously an act of imprudence, and the speedy emigration of the officer* by whose orders it was executed leaves but little doubt as to the motive. The assembly conducted itself on this occasion with a munificence dictated by policy, and while this rash deed was formally reprobated, an adequate compensation was voted to the sufferers†; on the other hand,

---

* Jarry, a *maréchal de camp*, who afterwards joined the Chouans, and was arrested at the same time with Cormartin.

† The following short account of the irruption into the Austrian Flanders was published in Paris at this period:

"Lisle, June 18.—On Sunday morning at two o'clock marshal Luckner commenced his march with his whole army. About the same time M. Carle set out from Dunkirk with about 10,000 men, and a considerable train of artillery, to join him. In his route he took possession of Ypres, and the adjacent country. M. la Fayette also advanced, and has taken St. Ghislain the key to Mons. Marshal Luckner took possession of Menin at noon, the enemy retiring on his approach.

"The French troops were most cordially received by the inhabitants, who immediately mounted the national cockade, the men in their hats, and the women in their bosoms: a column of the army is advancing to Courtray."

The London Gazette afterwards announced, that "on the 19th a detachment from M. Luckner's army attacked Courtray, and obliged the garrison, after some resistance, to retire within three leagues of Ghent, where they took post, and were reinforced next

the commander in chief was consigned, first to obscurity, and afterwards to punishment*.

A DEFENSIVE system was now resolved upon again; and the army of the north having returned ingloriously to its former station, occupied the intrenched camp of Famars. This position was objectionable in many points of view, and

---

day by the battalion of Bender, then on its way to Menin. The Austrians are said to have lost a hundred and ten men and a piece of cannon."

* MARSHAL LUCKNER.—Nicholas Luckner, a baron of the empire, was born at Campen in Bavaria, in 1722, and appears to have been a soldier of fortune from his youth. Having entered into the service of Prussia, he distinguished himself during the seven years' war as a general officer, and not only displayed great bravery, but experienced considerable success at the head of the light troops. The French ministry, mistaking the talents of a partisan for those of a general, invited him into the service of Louis XV. and on the 20th of June, 1763, he obtained a pension of 36,000 livres, and the rank of a lieutenant-general.

As Luckner appeared friendly to the revolution, he was employed in 1791; and on the 26th of April, 1792, his pension, the payment of which had been suspended for some time at the treasury, was restored to him. The *constitutionalists*, while in power, had before this sent for him to the capital, in order to consult with him on military affairs, but he proved so utterly incapable of giving advice, that they permitted him to return to Lorraine without disclosing their projects. Notwithstanding this, he obtained the baton of a marshal of France, although he was so ignorant of the language of the nation which pensioned and employed him, that on his appearance at the bar of the assembly, in order to return thanks, the minister at war was under the necessity of reading a speech which had been drawn up for him; because, according to him, "the heart of the marshal had more of French in it than his accent." Soon after this he received a red ribband from the king, and constantly wore it, until all decorations of this kind were suppressed.

On the declaration of war against the king of Hungary, he was appointed commander in chief of one of the three armies; and, on the resignation of Rochambeau, nominated general of the army of the north; in this capacity he entered Austrian Flanders, but fell into discredit in consequence of his hasty retreat.

The marshal was afterwards appointed to the army of the Moselle; in which situation he gave so much offence to the Jacobins by his attachment to the king, and displayed such gross ignorance of military details, that, soon after the invasion of the combined army, he was suspended from his command, and sent to Chalons, where he superintended the management of the recruits, and new

its proximity to Valenciennes kept the troops in a state of continual debauchery; while the neighbourhood of that fortress, by appearing to shelter and protect them, exhibited the appearance of despondency, and rendered the Austrians masters of the flat country. Nor was it adapted either to a good defence or an expeditious and certain retreat. In front was the Ronelle, which might be crossed with facility, while its elevated bank presented a formidable position for the enemy's artillery. In the rear flowed the Scheldt, which could not be forded, and was only to be passed by means of three bridges, two of which might have been seized on by an enterprising assailant. There were two other entrenched camps,

---

levies; being still permitted, however, to retain the pompous title of *generalissimo*, but without possessing any power whatsoever.

In January, 1793, Luckner repaired to the national convention on purpose to justify his conduct, and was permitted to retire; but he was afterwards arrested, tried, and executed January 4, 1794, at the age of seventy-two, under pretext of having delivered up a number of the French garrisons to the enemy.

"Luckner," says Dumouriez, t. III. "was not devoid of talents; but his mind was contracted. He was actuated by a sordid avarice, and entirely destitute of education. His disposition and habits had always accustomed him to act a subordinate part. The consequential airs assumed by la Fayette imposed upon him, and the moment he found any one to put above himself, he instantly forgot his own rank, and took the second place. He still retained all the corporeal activity of a hussar; but his ideas were exceedingly confused. He was never able to comprehend the plan of the campaign of the Low-countries; his ideas could reach no further than the vanguard: and to all the explanations of the minister he constantly replied in bad French, 'Yes, yes, I will turn first by the right and then by the left, and will march quick:'—"*Oui, oui, moi tourne par le droite, tourne par le gauche, & marche vite.*" In truth, he considered the invasion as a mere foraging party.

"He entered the Austrian territories," adds Dumouriez, "with an army of about twenty-two thousand men, and advanced to Courtrai and Menin. However, he had scarcely arrived at his headquarters, when he declared himself anti-ministerial, and his letters became rude and unmannerly. Berthier, who was at the head of his staff, Charles Lemeth, Jarry, Matthew de Montmorenci, and all his *aides-de-camp*, appertained to the faction of la Fayette.

"There were only two general officers in Luckner's army who were hearty in the expedition into the Low-countries; these were Biron and Valence. The first was anxious to make amends for his disaster before Mons; the second, equally unconnected with all

one at Maubeuge, the other at Maulde: the former was commanded by lieutenant-general Lanoue, who had between five and six thousand men under him; the latter by Dumouriez, who immediately after his resignation had resumed the profession of arms.

In the mean time a great change had taken place in Paris. The conduct of the king had given rise to suspicion, and the dismission of Roland and his two colleagues added greatly to the perplexity of the girondists, who beheld on the one hand the increasing power of the Jacobins with uneasiness, and on the other, could not see la Fayette at the head of a numerous army, and the throne surrounded by a ministry nominated by the *feuillants*, without alarm. An attempt was now made, by intimidating the royal family, to effect the restoration of the popular ministers; and as the minds of the Parisians were already sufficiently inflamed, but little art was necessary to obtain their assistance. On the 20th of June the suburbs of St. Antoine were perceived to be in commotion. The leaders, among whom Santerre, an opulent brewer, appeared to be the chief, produced a petition to the king for the dismission of the new administration, and the withdrawing of the *veto*, by means of which he had been

---

parties, consulted only his civism, his honesty, and his desire of distinguishing himself.

"The marshal was affrighted at the number of the retainers, and especially of the carriages belonging to his own army; he constantly used this as an objection to all the movements which were proposed to him. Although a general, he could have willingly allowed his troops to trifle away the whole campaign in the camp of Valenciennes, while he himself acted in the character of a partisan: at the head of the advanced guard, he would have led an army to the end of the world.

"In the morning he was entirely devoted to the nation; in the evening, wholly attached to the king. He had not any conception of the revolution. He confounded different objects and different parties together, and constantly complained of being surrounded by factious men, which indeed was but too true."

It is but candid to add, that while Dumouriez, in common with madame Roland and every well informed person, expressed his astonishment at the ignorance of Luckner, he considers his execution as a flagrant outrage on the name of justice.

persuaded to suspend the execution of several decrees. An immense multitude then commenced their march, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and accompanied by a crowd of women: increasing as they advanced, they at length reached the assembly, and having halted some time, deputed a few persons to require permission to present their homage, and file through its hall. They then proceeded to the palace, which was shut; but they soon burst their way, in spite of every opposition, and arrived in the presence of his majesty, to whom they read their petition. Louis XVI. exhibited on this occasion a degree of courage which had been supposed wholly incompatible with his character; neither the threats nor howlings of this insolent mob could prevail upon him to alter his intentions, or withdraw his *veto;* but he was under the necessity of wearing the red cap, the symbol of the Jacobins, which was placed on his head by the hands of a man inebriated with liquor, and ejaculating the most terrible oaths.

At length, in consequence of a long and animated speech, delivered by Vergniaux; who placed himself on the shoulders of one of the mob, and a few words from Petion, mayor of Paris, the populace was persuaded to retire, without committing the least injury against any part of the royal family, notwithstanding the appearance of the queen, against whom they were greatly incensed. This visit to the Tuilleries was but a prelude to one far more terrible, for the girondists, who only wished for a popular administration, always exhibited a laudable aversion from the shedding of human blood; but it was otherwise with their rivals, who now began to display a degree of ferocity hitherto unexampled in any age or country.

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the conduct of the court was suspicious, if not treacherous; that the king made no scruple to violate the constitution; that the new ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the people; and that the hostile preparations at the castle, the retention of a body of the Swiss guards, in express opposition to the laws, and the seduction of some battalions of the national volunteers, tended not a little to irritate the minds of the Parisi-

ans. In addition to this, la Fayette, who now appeared to have made his peace with the royal family; after assembling his troops, not to march once more against the enemy, but to deliberate on political subjects, had arrived in the capital with a petition signed by the officers and soldiers. He accordingly appeared, in their name, at the bar of the assembly, and demanded the punishment of the authors and instigators of the late tumult; he also inveighed loudly against the Jacobin Club, which was still considered as the rampart of public liberty, and insisted on its dissolution. But the appearance of a numerous and well-appointed army of foreign mercenaries on the frontiers, the menaces of the emigrants, the threats of the duke of Brunswick, and the supposed intercourse between him and the court, tended chiefly to fanaticise the minds of the people, and prepared the catastrophe now about to ensue.

On the day of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a perjured prince; and it was with some difficulty that the Swiss guards and the national grenadiers could insure his safety amidst the immense and exasperated crowd that surrounded him*. His treachery was no longer doubted; but his enemies were divided in respect to his punishment. Brissot, Vergniaux, and the other popular leaders, desirous to act in compliance to the constitution, repeatedly invoked the assembly to depose him; but the Jacobins, in conformity to the violence of their character, were for recurring to more desperate measures.

* Précis Historique de la Révolution, par Lacrettelle, p. 257.

CHAP. II.

Declaration of War by the Court of Brussels—Manifestoes of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick, and the French Princes—Preparations for opening the Campaign.

NINE days after the declaration of war on the part of France, a proclamation to the same effect was issued at Brussels, in the names of Maria-Christina princess royal of Hungary and Bohemiah, and Albert Casimir prince royal of Poland and Lithuania, the governors-general of the Austrian Low-countries. In this state-paper their royal highnesses mention that they had hitherto adhered to a system of the most rigorous neutrality, on purpose to ensure the blessings of peace. They observe, at the same time, that the first acts of hostility appear to be directed against the provinces where they command; and they warn the subjects of his apostolic majesty "of the innumerable calamities which their enemies are eager to spread and perpetuate, under the specious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to a credulous multitude by an impious sect of innovators, calling themselves philosophers." The "league formed between several great powers" is here fully and explicitly recognised, and the constitution "on which the happiness of Belgium has for ages been founded" is quoted with respect; but the court of Brussels was as yet too confident of success, and relied too implicitly on troops "full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two last reigns," to restore their ancient rights to the people, and thus, by the interposition of a generous policy, render the invaders odious; this mode was not recurred to until it had become too late, and that which would have been now accepted as a boon, was afterwards spurned at as an act of necessity.

A CONSIDERABLE period elapsed after this before the associated courts publicly announced their sentiments by means of similar declarations. Had Leopold survived the malady

which proved fatal to him, it is not improbable that his accustomed moderation and prudence would have entirely diverted the storm, which he had before suspended. But the sudden death of this amiable sovereign, the accession of a young prince, and the pertinacity of a veteran statesman*, unacquainted with the genius of his age, and dazzled with the favour of four successive monarchs invested with the Imperial diadem, contributed to involve Europe in a new species of warfare, and inflicted unforeseen calamities on the house of Austria.

Francis II. king of Hungary and Bohemia, and a candidate for the imperial dignity, which he soon after obtained, at length issued a counter-declaration against France. In this his apostolic majesty denied that he had given "public protection" to the emigrants; he allowed, however, the existence of a "concert between the late emperor and several powers for maintaining of the public tranquillity, and honor of their respective crowns;" but he asserted, at the same time, that in consequence of the representations of the court of Vienna, this was changed from an active into a passive league, intended to be wholly suspended, "unless France should fall again into the same state of disorder and popular violence which, according to the notions of all governments, from time immemorial, represent a state of anarchy†."

The court of Berlin soon after published a concise exposition of the reasons which determined his majesty the king of Prussia to take up arms against France. In this manifesto Frederick-William II. states, that being united with his apostolic majesty by the ties of a close and defensive alliance, he cannot remain a quiet spectator of the war commenced against that sovereign. He accuses the French of having violated, "by notorious suppression, the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine;" of having broached principles "subversive of all social subordination;" of having "tolerated, received, and sold, the most outrageous writings and speeches against the sacred persons

* Prince Kaunitz. † See Appendix, E.

and legal authority of sovereigns;" and of having "at length filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the king of Hungary and Bohemia." But, not content with these motives, his Prussian majesty was impolitic enough to disclose "the grand object" proposed by him in conjunction with his ally: "to put an end to anarchy in France, and to establish, for this purpose, a legal power, on the essential basis of a monarchical form;" but, on the other hand, he evinced some degree of moderation, by attributing the excesses that had occurred, "not to the whole French nation," but to the machinations of a "too-powerful faction*."

It was precisely at this critical period, that the forces of the combined kings, accompanied by a formidable and numerous band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France. The moment seemed to be peculiarly auspicious. The executive and legislative powers of that devoted kingdom were at open variance, while a society of individuals, alike unknown to the laws and the constitution, was about to acquire an ascendancy over both. No leader appeared at the head of the national troops, calculated to inspire the people with confidence, or require respect from the enemy; while the soldiery, already dispirited by two abortive and disgraceful attacks on the Austrian Low-countries, seemed utterly incapable of withstanding the best disciplined armies of Europe.

The duke of Brunswick, a commander who had served with distinguished reputation under Frederick the Great, and recently increased his celebrity, not only during the contest about Bavaria, but also by the sudden conquest of Holland, had already reached Coblentz with the first division of the combined army, of which he was proclaimed *generalissimo*. The arrival of the Prussian monarch, Frederick-William II. and the advance of the Austrian auxiliaries, were considered as the signal for opening the campaign; while France, her constitution, and her newly-acquired liberties,

* See Appendix, E.

appeared to be devoted to irretrievable destruction. During this dreadful pause, his serene highness was prevailed upon to publish an address to the inhabitants of France, in the joint names of the emperor and king, calculated to give a new turn to the war, and render the efforts of eighty thousand of the best troops in Europe unavailing. In this memorable manifesto, less calculated to divide than to unite the nation, the general states it to be the intention of the two united courts, who are here made to abjure every idea of enriching themselves by conquests, "to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar."

After an unqualified admission of a design to interpose in the internal management of an independent nation, his highness formally announces his intention to march into France, and his resolution to punish as "rebels" such of the national militia as should be taken with arms in their hands, fighting for the defence of their country. The magistrates are rendered responsible "with their heads and estates" for all the crimes and conflagrations which may take place; the inhabitants of towns and villages who shall fire on the troops of their imperial and royal majesties are to suffer death; while the city of Paris, and all its population, without distinction, as well as all the members of the national assembly, of the department, the district, the municipality, and the national guards, individually accountable for all attempts against the king, in conformity to military law*.

---

* *Declaration addressed by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, commanding the combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and King of Prussia, to the Inhabitants of France.*

"Their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

"After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the

Such is the substance of this famous declaration, by which it is deemed rebellion for the inhabitants of France to defend their country against foreign invaders, and in which the

---

most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed, against the most sacred person of the king, and against his august family; those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measures of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low-countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the impetuous threats of the domineering party and their emissaries.

"His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his imperial majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

"To these high interests is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is, to put an end to the anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

"Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the under-written general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare—

"1st. That drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

"2dly. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to insure to his most christian majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to insure the

emperor and king presume to dictate to the legislature and all the constituted authorities of the empire, at the very moment when, with a spirit of inconsistency truly astonishing,

---

welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

"3dly. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king; and that they will concur in the restoration of order and police throughout France.

"4thly. That the national guards are called upon to preserve provisionally tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible; that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the public peace.

"5thly. That the general officers, the subalterns and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

"6thly. That the members of departments, districts and municipalities, shal be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent, within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most christian majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

"7thly. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open country, or through half-open doors, or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

"8thly, The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his and

they formally protest "that they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France." But, not content with this, his serene highness was persuaded, two days after, to issue "an additional declaration," in which all the inhabitants of Paris, and of the empire, are again menaced with the most terrible punishments in case they should presume to disobey his commands.

---

all the royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their imperial and royal majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern: and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuillieries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done their majesties, the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved: their imperial and royal majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most christian majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above instructions.

"Finally. Their majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the king when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kind of declarations which may be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and, with this view, their imperial and royal majesties invite and intreat his most catholic majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers to which he would wish to remove, together with the queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his most christian majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

"In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed every-where, by

France, already threatened with civil as well as foreign war, and apparently abandoned to the horrors of anarchy, profited on this occasion by the folly and presumption of her

---

the troops under my command, good and strict discipline; promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ forces against those only who shall be guilty of resistance and manifest evil intentions.

"I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

"Given at general quarters at Coblentz,
"July 25, 1792.
(Signed) "Charles-William Ferdinand,
"Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg."

Additional Declaration by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, addressed to the Inhabitants of France.

"The declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated general quarters at Coblentz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of the combined armies.

"The liberty and safety of the sacred persons of the king, of the queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their imperial and royal majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration, to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments if the least insult should be offered to his most christian majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

"Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare, besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the king and the royal family shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

"All the inhabitants of France are in general to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be

enemies. Such a gross outrage to national honour, instead of depressing, aroused the energy of the people. As all were equally deemed objects of vengeance, all became united. As no distinction was made between the friend of the constitution and the zealot of democracy; as no line was drawn, so as to separate the mildest advocate for a limited monarchy, from the most furious partisan of plunder and revolt; every party was alike assailed, and their common safety depended on their conjunction. Men of the most opposite sentiments were now taught to unite for the first time. The Brissotins and the Maratists, the Jacobins and the Feuillants, the constitutionalists and the anarchists, were alike desirous to rescue France from a foreign yoke; while some even of the royalists, unable any longer to conceal their resentment at the indignity offered to the honour of their country, were ready to adopt the most vigorous measures, in order to vindicate its independence.*

---

impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the king and royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their imperial and royal majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most christian majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him), unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

"All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his most christian majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their imperial and royal majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null and without effect.

"Given at general quarters at Coblentz,
"July 27, 1792.

(Signed) "CHARLES-WILLIAM FERDINAND,
"DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG."

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—*July* 31, 1792.

"THE president informed the assembly, that he had received a packet by the post, containing a declaration which was issued in the name of the duke of Brunswick.

"In consequence of a report from the committee of GENERAL INSPECTION, founded upon the conduct and threats of the enemy, in regard to the national guards, the assembly passed a decree, by which it is declared:

"'That if the laws of war are not strictly observed towards *all Frenchmen* taken with arms in their hands, all the officers belong-

Nor did the joint manifesto, issued soon after by the king of Hungary, now become emperor, in conjunction with the king of Prussia, and which rather resembled a political disquisition on the revolution, than a memorial justifying their conduct, afford greater satisfaction. In this, the circular letter written by the late emperor from Padua, inviting all the powers of Europe to concert measures "for avenging the honour of the diade .," is recognised; and it is also allowed, "that the convention of Pilnitz determined those circum-

---

ing to the enemy, who may be made prisoners, shall experience a similar treatment, whatever may be their rank, titles, or distinctions; but that the soldiery shall, notwithstanding, continue to be treated as before.'

"The assembly arose, and voted this decree, in which the members were unanimous, by acclamation.

"The assembly also passed another, by which all the inhabitants of France, destitute of fire-arms, are henceforth to be armed with pikes, similar to those recommended by marshal Saxe."

"August 2.—The passing of the following decree, presented by the Commission of Public Safety, was only suspended by the unanimous and reiterated plaudits of the assembly:

"1st. Every officer or soldier, serving under the yoke of despotism, who shall repair to the army of liberty, or any military post, public functionary, &c. shall receive an annual pension of 100 livres, of which one fourth is to be paid in advance, shall be admitted to take the civic oath, and shall receive a national cockade, in token of fraternity and adoption. This pension, in case of death, shall be paid to his widow.

"2dly. All such shall be allowed to choose the army in which they wish to serve; and over and above the sum of one hundred livres, be entitled to the usual bounty-money on enlisting.

"3dly. The pensions of all military men, who repair to France, shall revert to the survivors, until they amount to 500 livres each.

"4thly. Those who do not wish to be employed as military men, shall be permitted to retire into the interior of the kingdom; and those who are desirous of serving, shall be admitted to the same recompences for their bravery as other French citizens.

"5thly. The sum of two millions shall be transmitted to the minister at war, in order to enable him to fulfil these engagements.

"6thly. The national assembly also hereby mortgages the sums arising from the property of the emigrants, for the payment of the above pensions and engagements.

"7thly. In case France shall be unhappily drawn into a war against a free nation, exercising its own sovereignty, the military men of that nation shall not be entitled to the advantages arising from the present decree."

stances which obliged their Imperial and Prussian majesties to have recourse to arms."

The two successive legislatures of France were there designated by the title of the "usurping assemblies;" but, what was infinitely more impolitic, the allied courts evinced by their present conduct that they did not believe Louis XVI. to have accepted the constitution with sincerity: "he wished," said they, "as he himself declared, that the constitution might be judged by experience. In a word, he was obliged either to accept it, or to condemn France to commit execrable crimes, to abandon it to all the horrors of civil war, and to bury it entirely under its own ruins. The king signed it, but his hand at that period was not free. The act which he performed was invalid, for the protestation of the 20th of June had previously annulled it. A prisoner can enter into no engagement, can sanction nothing, nor accept of any thing; and a monarch, who is reduced to the necessity of writing that he is *free*, is not so in reality*."

In the manifesto† published by the French princes, four days afterwards, the limitation of the monarchy is considered as a "monstrous system," produced by a "conspiracy of atrocious minds;" and "a mild people, attached to the king," are said to have been converted "into hordes of robbers, cannibals, and regicides!"

They however solemnly disclaim every idea of "revenge," and wish only to become the "deliverers" of their country. The declarations made by the two allied sovereigns, through the commander in chief of the combined armies, are stated "to be generous and magnanimous:" "in which," add they, "the kings of the house of Bourbon, our august cousins; our much-honoured father-in-law, the Nestor of sovereigns; the heroine of the North, our sublime protectress! and the young heir of the unfortuate Gustavus, whose bloody tomb we all bathe with our tears, equally participate and insure," continue they, "to these illustrious confederates, the immortal palm due to the defenders of a cause, which is at the same time that of kings, of good order, and of humanity."

---

* See Appendix, E. † Ibid.

Towards the conclusion, their highnesses give the "most pressing invitations," and even "orders," to the French troops, to return "to their ancient fidelity, to their lawful sovereign," and join those forces that they "command for him," without looking upon themselves as bound by any *illusory oath*, which they could never take willingly to the prejudice of their supreme chief." They also require, "in the king's name," all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortresses throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver up the keys on the first summons, under the penalty "of being tried for disobedience to the king, and treated as rebels."

In the mean time Frederick-William II. left his capital, and had an interview with the new emperor at Mentz. On this occasion the Prussian monarch was declared chief of the Germanic confederation, formed by their imperial and royal majesties, the ecclesiastical electors, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and several of the sovereigns whose possessions bordered on the Rhine.

The hero of the league soon after arrived at Coblentz, where he was received as a future conqueror by his own troops, while the emigrants in him hailed their deliverer. Confiding implicitly in the promises of a prince who had relinquished the pleasures of the table, and the seductions of the fair sex, on purpose to espouse their cause, amidst the intoxication of joy and exultation, they already felicitated themselves with the idea of triumphing over their enemies, and being speedily restored to their titles, their estates, and their country.

His majesty soon after reviewed his army, composed of fifty thousand Prussians, at the head of which he himself intended to take the field. The auxiliaries were to consist of thirty thousand Austrians, under the command of the prince de Hohenlohe and the count de Clairfayt. The prince of Hesse was to supply six thousand of his subjects. The French nobles, who had now assumed the name of the royal army, including a few regiments levied by the little German princes, already amounted to twenty two thousand. These were divided into three different bodies: one of

twelve thousand men, led by the counts de Provence and Artois, brothers of Louis XVI. was destined to serve with the grand army; while the other two, consisting of five thousand each, and commanded by the prince de Condé and the duke of Bourbon, were cantoned on the borders of the Rhine.

Thus an immense military force, amounting to one hundred and nine thousand troops, was destined to overwhelm all opposition; and preparations were now making to open a campaign on the success of which the fate of so many monarchs, princes, and nobles, depended.

The allied courts suffered themselves to be persuaded that all their operations would be infallibly crowned with success. They were told that the moment their armies passed the frontiers they would be joined by the troops of the line, while the gates of every town would be thrown open at their approach. The duke of Brunswick, however, did not trust implicitly to these assurances; but, on the contrary, relied chiefly for success on calculations, which in the end proved equally fallacious.

This general, in conformity to a previous agreement between the combined powers, was to march against Longwy, by the way of Treves and Luxemburg. After having reduced that place, and, if possible, Montmedy also, both of which were to serve as arsenals and magazines for his army, it was intended that he should obtain possession of Verdun, Sedan, and Mezieres. The court of Vienna promised to second these efforts by means of two armies, one of which was to attack Thionville, and menace Landau and Saarlouis, while another, issuing from the Austrian Netherlands, overran the northern department, and laid siege to Lisle.

This scheme of warfare, calculated with all the phlegm incident to the tactics of Germany, hazarded but little. If the French armies declared in favour of the invaders, success became inevitable; and in case of even the most determined resistance, a retreat was insured. It was expected that France, pressed by numerous forces on both frontiers, would yield to the systematic plans of a great commander; and if no remarkable impression was made during that campaign, the approaching one would, undoubtedly, prove deci-

sive. In the mean time, the Prussians being in possession of all the strong points on the Meuse, from Verdun to Givet, with their flanks protected by two Austrian armies, could remain during the winter in cantonments behind that river; thus assuming a position, so much the more advantageous, as it would uncover the rear of all the enemy's fortified places on the Sambre.

This plan of hostilities was, however, changed in the sequel, in consequence of the inability of the court of Vienna to fulfil its engagements.

CHAP. III.

Insurrection of the 10th of August—Character and Views of the Leaders—Suspension of the King's Authority—Election of a National Convention—Conduct of the Armies and the Generals—Dumouriez is promoted to the chief Command—Flight of La Fayette.

While a coalition of foreign princes, under pretence of supporting the rights and avenging the injuries of kings, menaced the French with their vengeance, the throne tottered beneath the feeble and irresolute monarch, whom they pretended to reinstate in all the plenitude of despotic power. The sovereigns armed in support of his cause had branded his acceptance of the constitution, in their joint manifesto, with hypocrisy; while his brothers, by their late hostile declaration, took upon them, in his name, to corrupt the allegiance of the army and the fidelity of the garrisons.

The imminent danger of the nation appeared conspicuous to all, for, in addition to a host of foreign enemies, the suspicious and equivocal conduct of the first magistrate, who was intrusted by the laws with the command of the armies, rendered all hopes of defence illusory and abortive. The two great parties in opposition to the crown were equally alarmed; but they differed in the mode of prevention.

Brissot and the girondists, wishing to adhere to the established forms of the constitution, were desirous, after a solemn investigation into the conduct of Louis XVI. to declare that he had incurred the penalty of forfeiture.

But the jacobins were resolved to recur to more energetic measures, and their chiefs had already determined, not only on the punishment of the king, but the annihilation of the monarchy. Possessing every quality necessary for a conspirator but courage alone, Robespierre presided at their deliberations. Although incapable of facing danger, he took an active but secret part in the overthrow of the throne; and, as the reputation of Brissot was more odious to him than the machinations of Louis XVI. he determined to combine his designs respecting the executive power, with a perfidious vengeance against all his rivals. The loud, sonorous, and commanding voice of Danton, always heard with attention in the moment of danger, had already inflamed the Cordeliers to insurrection; he now employed the money with which the court had secretly attempted to corrupt him, for the destruction of royalty; and, in order to gratify a predominant ambition, he had determined to overturn a constitution which neither gratified his passion for fame, nor his love of wealth. Camille Desmoulins, bribed also by that monarch against whom he now conspired, and Fabre d'Eglantine, who had in some measure prepared the public mind by his writings for a crisis, readily joined in the plot; while Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, and many others, lauguished to be rescued from obscurity and poverty by any brilliant, although sinistrous, exploit. Barbaroux, a native of Marseilles, which had been originally a Greek colony, publicly professed the same political sentiments as the first founders of the free city that had given him birth. Fully convinced of the treachery of the monarch, and jealous of royalty under any form, he readily concurred in the combination for the subversion of the kingly power, and contributed not a little, by his influence over a body of his armed countrymen who had repaired to the federation, to achieve that measure. But his principles were pure, and, like Brutus of old, he appears to have struck for liberty alone!

Such were the principal leaders of the insurrection; and the means employed by them, as well as the epoch at which they proposed to act, seemed not only to promise, but even to insure success. Five hundred young men from Marseilles, and a battalion from Brest, were devoted to their cause; many of the national guards had also agreed to join them; but they chiefly relied on the Jacobins, who determined to hazard their existence on this occasion. The Parisians, instead of being intimidated, were excited to insurrection by the threats and vauntings of the combined kings. The meetings of the sections of the capital had been already declared permanent by the municipality; the country had been voted to be "in danger*" by the legislature; the perfidy of the monarch, of his consort, and of his court, was every where propagated and believed; and nothing seemed now wanting but a leader to storm the royal palace, and make the king a prisoner.

Santerre aspired to this honour; but they had not sufficient confidence either in his valour or military talents, to entrust the enterprise to his management. At length, Danton, during an interview at Charenton, presented to them a chief, calculated to dissipate all their alarms, and insure all their suffrages. This was Westermann, a native of Alsace, who had served in the armies of France under the old government, but having retired in disgust, he had become a zealot of the revolution. His personal bravery was undoubted; and the plan of attack drawn up by him announced, at least, that his military talents were competent to attain the object now under consideration.

On the evening of the 9th of August, while the minds of the citizens were still enflamed against the majority of the legislature which had just acquitted la Fayette, the insur-

---

* A decree was passed for this purpose, July 11, precisely six days after the publication of the manifesto by the king of Hungary and Bohemia.—Here follows the preamble:

"Numerous armies advance towards our frontiers. All those who look upon liberty with horror arm themselves against our constitution. Citizens! your country is in danger."

gents prepared for the assault. They accordingly assembled in arms in three different places: at the jacobin club; the section of *Quinze-vint*, in the suburbs of St. Antoine; and the hall of the Cordeliers. It was at this last that the most resolute met, and the Marseillese already demanded with impatience the signal for the attack. Danton, whose eye sparkled with hope, expectation, and revenge, with a loud and furious voice recapitulated the crimes of the court: "Let us cease," exclaims he "to appeal to the laws and the legislators: the laws never anticipated so many crimes; and as for the legislators, the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of la Fayette, whom they have just absolved. To absolve that traitor is to deliver ourselves to him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced kings.—What do I say?—It is this very night which the perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage, and to the flames, that capital he wishes once more to leave.—To arms! To arms*!"

This cry was instantly repeated a thousand times, and from a thousand different mouths: at eleven o'clock the assembly formally declared itself in "a state of insurrection," and a musket was fired as a signal for action.

On this all the members sallied forth: some snatch up their arms; others help to drag the cannon; a few are dispatched to give notice of their approach. Chabot, Camille, and several more, order the bells of the churches to be rung; and in a few minutes the dreadful *tocsin* is heard throughout Paris, impressing all its inhabitants with alarm, and wafting terror and dismay to every apartment in the castle of the Tuilleries.

Nor was the palace wholly unprovided in respect to defence. The Swiss retained about the person of the king, in express opposition to a decree of the assembly, had been gained by the liberality and caresses of the court; but, although devoted to the royal cause, their number was in-

* Précis Historique de la Révolution Françoise, par Lacretelle, p. 294.

complete, nearly one half being absent at Courbevoie. A few companies of grenadiers belonging to the national guards had also repaired to the court of the Tuilleries, while the interior was garrisoned by between seven and eight hundred royalists, all well armed, and resolved either to conquer or die. Among the military men who made their appearance at this critical period was the old viscount de Mailly, on whom was immediately conferred, by acclamation, the honour of commanding the nobles. The queen conducted herself on this trying occasion with equal policy and intrepidity. With a countenance that seemed still to beam with hope, and an eye denoting courage, she repaired from rank to rank, and from post to post. The virtuous and accomplished princess madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, accompanied her on this occasion ; and both of them were equally attentive to the national guards and the nobles, between whom a jealousy already prevailed. Such was the general enthusiasm, that it was resolved at one time not to remain on the defensive, but to sally forth against the insurgents, seize on their cannon, annoy their line of march, dissipate their columns, pursue the fugitives with the horse, and thus put an end to the insurrection. This plan was conceived and urged by many military men, such as d'Hervilli, and Viomenil ; and Mandat, the *commandant* of the national guard, was said to have been entrusted with the execution. But Louis, although he had at first consented to, did not long approve of, so bold a measure; for, no sooner did the danger seem imminent, than the descendant of the gallant Henry IV. appeared, as usual, timid and irresolute. It was in vain that the daughter of Maria Theresa approached her wavering consort, presented him with arms, and told him to defend his life, his family, and his throne*; it was in vain that the grandees represented the victory as certain : the king was persuaded by Roederer to abandon his palace, his nobles, and his guards ; and, before a single shot was fired, he took refuge with his consort, his

* Tableau Historique & Politique de l'Europe, par Sagur, t. II. p. 254.

children, and his sister, in the bosom of the assembly; thus annihilating at the same time the hopes of his defenders and the fears of his enemies.

In the mean time the jacobins, who had increased their numbers during the night, waited but for the dawn to commence the attack. Having seized on the town-house, they began by dismissing the old and nominating a new municipality. Petion, who had been intimidated during his visit to the castle, and forced to sign an order to repel force by force, was deprived of his authority: Mandat, who had issued injunctions to intercept all communication between the city and the suburbs by the bridges, was first arrested and then put to death. All the movements of the insurgents were regulated by the new magistrates; an appearance of order, and even of legality, was thus given to their proceedings, and no sooner did they hear that the king had taken refuge in the hall of the legislature, than they redoubled their efforts, and pressed the attack with additional activity.

The federates of Marseilles, burning with enthusiasm, and ambitious to distinguish themselves, headed the columns. They were followed by the battalion of Brest, like the former, properly accoutred for the combat, and an immense number of individuals, the only arms possessed by whom consisted of pikes, useless in an engagement of this kind, but terrible after victory: their chief reliance was placed on their cannon, and these were dragged forward by a body of men, who had dedicated their time and labours to the art of managing these destructive engines. The motions of the insurgents were rather rapid than regular; the Marseillese hymn animated their march, and the stanzas were recited at intervals by the whole body. After defeating a small detachment of royalists, posted on the Pont-Neuf, they at length reached the Carrouzel, where they were joined by several battalions, who waited for them with impatience. Some of the national troops, hearing of the king's flight, declared also in their favour; the *gendarmes*, equally despising the caresses and the threats of their chiefs, proclaimed themselves ready to act as auxiliaries; while the garrison of the castle was weakened by the defection of two or three batta-

lions of national guards, and the loss of the three hundred Swiss, and three hundred grenadiers, who had accompanied the royal family to the assembly. At nine o'clock in the morning the outward gates were forced, and an armed multitude rushed into the court. The body-guards, ranged along the steps of the grand staircase, on a signal given, fired a volley and drove back the most furious of the assailants; a more distant warfare was then carried on from and against the windows, while the cannon pointed at the palace already pierced the extremities of the roof.

The Swiss now sallied forth, and drew up in order of battle in the quadrangle, which was already strewed with the slain; four pieces of ordnance were also left in the court of the Carrouzel by the affrighted assailants, but the garrison, already deserted by their prince, was alike destitute of orders and of a proper plan of defence. The insurgents, on the other hand, were at once bold, resolute, and persevering; they had but one object, which was the capture of the Tuilleries; and they were instigated by hope, shame, and revenge.

The Marseillese having at length rallied the fugitives, determined to admit none to participate in the attack except those who were accustomed to military discipline, and resolved, like themselves, to conquer or to die; the cannoneers, burning with rage for the loss of their companions, fully participated in their opinions, and all the irregular auxiliaries were immediately obliged to retire.*

Westermann having given orders to renew the attack, the artillery was distributed anew, and the castle once more invested. The *gendarmerie*, hitherto inactive, either expel or arrest their officers; several battalions, which had marched for the purpose of defending the royal family, also declare at this critical moment against them; volleys of cannon were again heard; the walls are pierced with balls; the castle, now on fire in several different places, is at length forced, and the blood of the body-guards flows along the steps of the

* Précis Historique, par Lacretelle, p. 327.

palace. Many of the Swiss, attempting to ecsape by the garden, were surrounded, and cut off by the *gendarmerie* and the mob; the grenadiers of the district of Filles St. Thomas, who were attached to the royal cause, effected their retreat with great difficulty, and some of the nobles found an asylum in the hotel of the ambassador from Venice. The slaughter would have been prodigious had not the national assembly decreed that the foreigners were placed under the protection of the laws; the people, however, still outrageous against the king, whom they considered as the cause of all their calamities, refused to assist in stopping the progress of the flames, until their revenge was satiated; while a multitude of petitioners appeared at the bar, and demanded the deposition of the captive monarch. The Brissotins, who wished only for a popular administration, and a prince attached to the constitution, were alarmed at a victory which laid them as well as the throne prostrate at the feet of their enemies. Vergniaud, however, at length delivered in a report, in the name of an extraordinary committee, after prefacing "that he was about to present a rigorous measure for their adoption," for which he seemed to apologise by observing, "that it was necessary for the safety of the state." He then detailed the plan of a decree, for the convocation of a national convention, and the *provisional suspension* of the king, until that body had pronounced on the measures necessary for maintaining the sovereignty of the people. These propositions having been instantly assented to, a deputy was sent to communicate the intelligence to the insurgents, who immediately became more calm; and one of them appeared soon after at the bar, with a Swiss, whom he had made prisoner, under his arm: "Let us spare," exclaimed he, "these instruments of a perfidious king!" and immediately embraced him; after which, exhausted with his previous exertions and his present emotions, he immediately fainted and fell down at the feet of his late adversary. The assembly took advantage of this scene to to excite the victors to clemency: but it was otherwise at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, for there the cry of "Vengeance!" and "No quarter!" was still heard; eighty

Swiss were murdered, notwithstanding all the efforts of the national guards to prevent it.

Although the king had only been suspended from his functions on the 10th of August, yet, on the succeeding day, royalty itself seemed to be abolished. All the ensigns of the monarchy, every vestige of former kings, were disfigured, obliterated, or destroyed. The statues of Louis XIII. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. which had been erected in the different squares of the metropolis, were now overturned and defaced; even the memory of Henry IV. could not protect his effigy!

Louis XVI. who had remained with his family during two days in a narrow apartment destined for those who took notes of the debates, was conveyed under a strong escort to the Temple: d'Abencourt, the minister at war, was arrested at the same time; while a decree of accusation was issued against Montmorin, Bertrand, and Montciel, all of whom had been in place; as well as against Duport, Barnave, and Alexander Lameth, who appeared from documents found in the castle to have advised Louis XVI. to refuse his sanction to the measures adopted by the assembly against the priests and emigrants. Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, were now reinstated in their former offices; while Danton, an associate whom they did not dare to disown, was nominated, with singular impropriety, minister of justice.

This victory gained over the throne by the Parisians and the federates, soon received the assent and the sanction of all the departments. Even those public bodies which had so loudly protested against the proceedings of the 20th of June, readily celebrated the triumph of the 10th of August: the intelligence of the capture of the Bastille had been scarcely received with a more general acquiescence; but the motive was less pure, for terror now began to supply the place of enthusiasm.

In the mean time the suspension and imprisonment of the king produced great astonishment in the armies; particularly that commanded by la Fayette, who, by the sudden change of his position, appears to have meditated some important project, now rendered abortive by the new revolution.

He was posted at this critical moment at Sedan; his command extended from Alsace to Dunkirk, and he was at the head of a considerable body of troops apparently devoted to his will.

This general, who had so strenuously opposed the despotism of the court, was equally adverse to the tyranny of the Jacobins, and determined to support the cause of the captive monarch, whose power appeared to have been rendered legitimate by the sanction of the constitution, and the oaths of the people. Having called a council of war, to which he summoned every officer commanding a battalion, and found a ready assent to all the measures proposed by him, he immediately published a proclamation, in which he declared not only his own dissent, but that of the troops under his command, to the recent events that had occurred in the capital. The soldiery already announced, by their rage and their exclamations, that they were actuated by that indignation which their leader was so desirous to excite; while the members of the department, propelled by a similar enthusiasm, refused to recognise the acts of the national assembly, which now assumed and exercised the sovereign authority.

But that body had already anticipated the defection of this army, and recurred to measures calculated either to gain the commander, or induce the troops to desert. Three commissioners* had been accordingly selected for this purpose; and, notwithstanding they heard during their journey of the dangers they were likely to encounter, they persisted in fulfilling the object of their mission. On their arrival at Sedan, they were immediately arrested and imprisoned as hostages, for the safety of the king and the royal family, at the instigation of la Fayette. This officer had every reason to suppose, that all the armies participated in his resentments; but he was mistaken, for Luckner, although destitute of most of the other talents necessary for a general, was far from being deficient in respect to prudence. He had already obtained a marshal's bâton, a red ribband, and the

* Antonelle, Kersaint, and Perraldi.

title of *generalissimo*, by appearing devoted to all parties: incapable of forming or even conceiving any plan that required reflection, he was an able partisan, but a despicable chief; addicted to wine, this soldier of fortune was incapable of keeping a secret; desirous above all things of amassing wealth, the avaricious Bavarian possessed none of the attachments of a Frenchman. Accordingly, after displaying the most contemptible irresolution, he at length declared for the assembly, and thus disappointed the expectations of his colleague.

La Fayette, however, experienced more fidelity on the part of lieutenant-general Arthur Dillon. This officer had sat as a deputy in the first assembly, and condemned the idea of an offensive war, which he considered as unconstitutional; he was so much attached indeed to the defensive system, that he had divided his army into three separate camps, being afraid, in case he assembled them in a body to drive the duke of Saxe Teschen from Bavai, lest he should be forced by some unexpected occurrence to change his plan. No sooner did he receive intelligence of the events that occurred in Paris, than he assembled the troops in the camp of Pont-sur-Sambre, and prevailed upon the soldiers to renew their oath of fidelity*; he also issued similar orders to the divisions collected at Maulde and Maubeuge, but the officer who commanded at the former of these, and whose person he had neglected to arrest, in compliance with the express orders of the commander in chief, determined not to obey. This was

* On the 13th of August, 1792, general Dillon published the following Declaration in his camp:

"It is said that the constitution has been violated. Whoever the persons may be, who have thus perjured themselves, they are enemies to the liberty of France.

"The general seizes this critical opportunity of renewing his oath to shed the last drop of his blood in support of the integrity of the constitution, as decreed by the national constituting assembly during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to remain in all things faithful to the nation, the law, and the king."

On the succeeding day, Dumouriez, who had refused to administer the constitutional oath, of "I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king," transmitted a letter to Gensonné, containing the following expressions:

Dumouriez, who, although he had turned out the three popular ministers*, yet found it necessary to remain on good terms with the republicans, by whom alone he could expect to have his ambition gratified; for, according to their own account, he had been grossly deceived by the king†, and was at open enmity with la Fayette. He accordingly proclaimed every where, by means of his emissaries, that he was sacrificed by the court; and he had celebrated the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille with great pomp in his camp. No sooner did the duke of Saxe Teschen assemble an army at Mons, on purpose to attack French Flanders, than Dumouriez positively refused to join marshal Luckner, under the pretext of providing for the safety of the Northern department; and he took care to state his motives, which were at once popular and specious, to the assembly: he also was the first to commence hostilities against the enemy, and evinced talents and activity that added not a little to his reputation as a military man.

The camp of Maulde, situate among sand-hills, and exactly resembling a horse-shoe in form, having a village of the same name in front, a marshy country in the rear, and Mortagne on the right flank, with the advantage of a bridge at the junction of the Scarpe and the Scheldt, was rendered formidable by his means. It was there that he lived constantly among the troops, by whom he was adored, whose enthusiasm he augmented by his presence, his speeches, and his conduct, and into whose minds he contrived to infuse a passion for war, by rendering them at once the assailants and

---

"Dillon has ruined himself by a declaration in favour of royalty (*royalisme*), given out in public orders at his camp on the Sambre, and which he has also commanded me to publish in mine. I have formally disobeyed him, and transmitted the papers concerning this affair to the commissioners from the national assembly, who are just arrived at the army. I expect to see them to-morrow in my camp.

"I hope to be able to render essential service to the cause of the sovereignty and the liberty of the French people, and I will use all the means in my power for that purpose."

* Roland, Clavieres, and Servan.

† See "La Vie de Dumouriez."

the victors. He had recourse to every art which long experience could suggest, to accustom them to military discipline, or inspire them with zeal; and, that their courage might be inflamed to an heroic ardour by the presence of the fair sex, he encouraged two beautiful young maidens of the name of Fernig, who to great modesty united a masculine courage, to accompany them in their incursions*. Dumouriez, instead of being surprised or alarmed at the events of the 10th of August, rejoiced to behold an opportunity of aspiring to the chief command, gratifying his own resentments, and triumphing over a hated rival.

---

* It may not prove uninteresting in this place to detail the situation of the northern army, as drawn up by Dumouriez himself; will exhibit the means by which that general inured his troops to hardships, and thus prepared them for victory.

"Every thing conspired to produce the ruin of France and of the king. Dillon confined himself entirely to the defensive system, which he was doubtless ordered to do, lest he should be forced by circumstances to change his plan: he accordingly divided the troops into three separate camps.

"That of Maulde, which remained under the direction of Dumouriez, consisted of twenty-three battalions and five squadrons, including the garrisons of Orchies, Marchennes, and St. Amand. That of Maubeuge, under the command of lieutenant-general Lanoue, contained twelve battalions and six squadrons; and that of Pont-sur-Sambre, eight battalions and five squadrons. Dillon himself commanded the last; it was a situation of his own choosing, and a very bad one. The forest of Mormale, which extended between this camp and that of the Imperialists at Bavai, prevented the French from attacking the enemy, who had indeed rendered inroads on that side impracticable, by blocking up the approaches with trees, &c.

"This separation of the troops augmented the schism still more. The camps of Maubeuge and Pont-sur-Sambre became entirely attached to the party of la Fayette: the camp of Maulde was wholly devoted to Dumouriez. It was this disjunction that divided the army into two factions, which became more inflamed, because the two generals, on account of the distance, saw each other but seldom. One small advantage however resulted from it: this was an emulation in harassing the enemy by means of detachments, which inured the troops to warfare.

"General Dumouriez, shut up within his own camp, no longer occupied himself about any thing but the disciplining and training of his little army, and the forming of its officers. The troops of the

Dillon, shut up in the camp of Pont-sur-Sambre, with only the forest of Mormale between him and the Imperialists, was entirely ignorant of the state of parties in the capital; and being eager to display his loyalty, wished that the other commanders should follow his example. But Dumouriez, better instructed relative to the late events, and relying on the attachment and support of his troops, resolved, as has been already observed, to temporise. He accordingly affected to consider the administration of the constitutional oath as a measure at once dangerous and ill-timed; he also pretended to deprecate the commencement of a civil war, and insisted loudly on the impolicy of irritating a triumphant faction, that might wish by the death of the monarch to avenge the loss of more than ten thousand citizens, which their late victory over "foreign mercenaries and revolted nobles" had already cost. The king was perhaps culpable; in that case

---

line and the volunteers were alike replete with confidence and good-will, but they were raw and inexperienced. He began by appointing two corps of flankers, consisting of about five hundred each, which were sent daily a-skirmishing; they were renewed, both officers and soldiers, at the end of every week; and all the battalions took their turn of service, so that each might be accustomed to fatigue, and the sight of the enemy.

"Every commanding officer received a paper of instructions from the hand of the general, on the back of which was traced a map of that part of the country through which he was to pass: on this were also laid down the various roads, bridges, villages, farm-houses, and mills, near which they were to march in going out and returning home; the spots where troops were to be posted; the points of attack, &c. These detachments for the most part proved successful, and brought in horses and prisoners to the camp. They received orders to keep on good terms with the inhabitants, and the general caused any property that was stolen to be restored.

"During this period the battalions were exercised daily, and assisted in erecting pallisadoes on the redoubts, in throwing bridges over the river, and in digging trenches. The tour of duty in the camp, and in the various detached guards, was extremely severe. Every man had his proper post assigned to him, in case of surprise. Neither idleness nor cabals prevailed in the army; there were no Jacobins or feuillans there; the newspapers were but little read; and the twelve or thirteen thousand troops of which it consisted, became perceptibly more warlike." Vol. III. p. 52.

the law would pronounce the forfeiture of the crown: this was a fit subject for a civil trial, and it did not belong to the army to decide in such a case; for if it interposed without being acquainted with the particulars, inevitable blame would necessarily attach. In addition to these reasons, more than one hundred and twenty thousand enemies were now on the frontiers of France, and ready to take advantage of her internal troubles; this, therefore, was not the proper moment to engross the attention of the troops about the person of the king, who, august as he was, could be no more than a secondary object. Such were the motives communicated to Dillon, and since consigned to posterity, for the disobedience of Dumouriez, who took care to notify his conduct to the assembly,

In the mean time Delmas, Dubois-Dubays, and Bellegarde, the new commissioners, arrived at Valenciennes, and prepared to employ vigorous measures against Dillon, whose recent conduct appeared suspicious. He however contrived to disarm their rage, and was retained in the chief command; a circumstance which gave umbrage to Dumouriez, who seems to have thought himself entitled to the direction of the northern army, and even appears to have had recourse to the agency of Couthon for that purpose*.

No sooner did the assembly learn the particulars of the defection of la Fayette, the equivocal conduct of Dillon and Lanoue, and the apparent devotion of Dumouriez, than they immediately nominated him commander in chief. The three ministers too, whom he had so recently sacrificed to his ambition, and who were again restored to power, actuated by the most generous motives, determined to forget their wrongs, and accordingly transmitted letters to the general, in which, after felicitating him on his advancement, they besought him to vindicate the honour of his country, and prove faithful to his engagements.

The whole burden and responsibility of the war now devolved upon this extraordinary man, who instantly conceiv-

---

* Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

ed the bold plan of commencing hostilities in the enemy's own territories; and resolved, by seizing on the Austrian Netherlands, to change the nature as well as the object of the contest. He was moreover ambitious to execute the plan he himself had sketched out for the French generals, while yet in the ministry, and which they had repeatedly declared to be impracticable.

He hoped that sufficient time was still left to prepare for events. Marshal Luckner was at the head of a considerable body of troops at Metz, and would naturally form a junction with the other commanders, for the defence of the Ardennes, a department protected by a line of fortresses, which must be taken before the enemy could penetrate into Champagne; and he expected that an opportunity would be thus presented of commencing an offensive campaign on the side of Flanders: but the advance of the Prussians, and the speedy surrender of some of the fortresses on the frontiers, rendered this scheme abortive.

In the mean time he bent the whole of his attention to the northern army, which he wished to collect and assemble. He also made a promotion of five lieutenant and seven major generals: the former consisted of Moreton, whom he placed at the head of his own staff; Labourdonnaye, the commanding officer at Lisle; Marassé, who occupied the same situation at Douay; Omoran, who presided at Condé; and Beurnonville, whose conduct at the camp of Maulde had been greatly approved of. General Lanoue was retained in the service, in consequence of Dumouriez becoming security for his conduct to the commissioners; and he afterwards reinstated lieutenant-general Leveneur also, after allowing him to serve three weeks as a simple hussar, although he had participated in the defection of his rival, against whom he now received orders to march.

But this measure, however grateful it might be, was soon rendered unnecessary. Three new deputies had been dispatched by the national assembly to Sedan, to procure the liberation of their colleagues, while a number of emissaries, among whom was Westermann, whose name had now become celebrated by the capture of the Tuilleries, received

secret orders to repair to his camp, and debauch the fidelity of his soldiers.

It was in vain that la Fayette dissembled for some time respecting the critical situation in which he was placed. Did he resolve to march straight to Paris? This would be to expose Louis XVI. and his family to certain destruction. Was he determined to erect the standard of revolt in the provinces? He would be opposed by the other armies, and a civil war must inevitably ensue. In addition to these considerations, France was at this moment pressed on all sides by the enemy, and the idea of a capitulation with the presumptuous invaders of his country, struck him with horror; he was resolved, therefore, whatever might occur, neither to leave the frontiers destitute of defence, nor to lose his reputation by means of a disgraceful compact.

His own army seemed even now to divine the disagreeable predicament in which he was placed, and a general consternation began to prevail in his camp. Some of the troops distinguishing between personal attachment and the cause of their country, not only forsook but even denounced him and the officers of his staff. The inaction in which the soldiery were suffered to remain, gave leisure for reflection, nor were the means of seduction wanting. Those regiments which had been loudest in their acclamations, already announced by their conduct that their fidelity was beginning to waver; others murmured at their lot, and began to lament their situation. But this change of opinion was not openly manifested, until a general review had taken place, for the purpose of ascertaining the state and disposition of the forces. It was then that the cannoneers, a body of troops eminently attached to the popular cause from the commencement of the revolution, evinced their dissatisfaction; some of the soldiery testified aloud their commiseration for the imprisoned deputies, while a cry* in favour of that very assembly against whom their general had declared was re-echoed from rank to rank!

* "Vive les deputés de l'assemblée nationale!"

It was also propagated with equal art and success, that a decree of accusation* had been promulged against their commander; that disobedience to his orders had now become a duty; and that to recognise him any longer was to violate the laws!

Notwithstanding the prevalence of these sentiments, a generous pity seemed still to actuate the hearts of an army that had already resolved to abandon its general, and both time and opportunity were afforded him to provide for his safety. Accordingly in the course of that very night he assembled all his friends, and consulted every one who, by a personal attachment to him, might be supposed to participate in his danger. It was allowed on all sides, that it had now become impossible to support the vigorous measures which they had determined to pursue, as they were abandoned by the whole nation, and even by their own troops. Such was their deplorable situation, that an immediate flight became absolutely necessary to those who had but so lately hoped to decide the fate of the empire. La Fayette reluctantly consented to a measure now rendered inevitable, but he was not ignorant of the dangers that accompanied it; he hoped however at all events to be able to ensure the safety of his companions, and to appear rather unfortunate than culpable in the eyes of mankind. He accordingly resolved to set out before the approaching dawn should exhibit once

---

* National Assembly.—*August*, 17, 1792.

Decree of Accusation against M. la Fayette.

"I. It appears to this assembly, that there is just ground for accusation against M. la Fayette, heretofore commander of the army of the North.

"II. The executive power shall, in the most expeditious manner possible, carry the present decree into execution; and all constituted authorities, all citizens, and all soldiers, are hereby enjoined, by every means in their power, to secure his person.

"III. The assembly forbids the army of the North any longer to acknowledge him as a general, or to obey his orders; and strictly enjoins that no person whatsoever shall furnish any thing to the troops, or pay any money for their use, but by the orders of M. Dumouriez."

more the discontent of an army formerly so much attached to him, and which, still respecting his misfortunes, determined not to intercept his flight. He therefore mounted his horse, with seventeen companions, among whom were Latour-Maubourg, the friend of his youth; Alexander Lameth, formerly the most bitter of his adversaries, but now determined to participate in his misfortunes; Bureau-de-Pusy, three times president of the constituting assembly; several of his aides-de-camp; and, in short, all those who dreaded the wrath of the triumphing party. None of them attempted to seduce a single battalion to desert, and by such base and inglorious means ensure the favour of the enemy; on the contrary, it was their sole wish to retire to some distant country, and hope for better days, and a more auspicious fortune.

HAVING abandoned the French territory, they travelled several leagues without encountering any difficulty. They were dressed in their respective uniforms; and in the course of their journey, frankly announced themselves as officers who having left the army were now repairing to Switzerland. At length they were met by an Austrian patrole, and being interrogated, they delivered in an account of their names and rank, adding at the same time the reasons which had induced them to fly from their own country. On this they were arrested, and declared prisoners to the king of Prussia.

LA FAYETTE, when he first determined to abandon his troops, was well aware that he might be exposed to prejudice and enmity, scarcely less implacable than that from which he was obliged to shelter himself; yet both he and his friends still hoped that this monarch would in their persons respect the rules of war and the rights of misfortune. But the leaders, now on their march to restore the ancient monarchy of France, equally neglecting the voice of policy and of justice, were rendered presumptuous by the hope of success, and steeled to pity on hearing of those divisions which presented them with the means of gratifying the reveries of ambition and revenge. Detesting every thing connected with the revolution, Frederick-William was not displeased to have one of its first promoters in his power; and the emigrants in his army drew but too favourable an augury from

an event which, while it bereaved a defenceless enemy of his liberty, seemed at the same time to evince the determined hostility of a prince, who appeared even to violate the law of nations in their behalf *.

---

* It may not prove unacceptable, perhaps, to give some account in this place, not only of the French general himself, but also of the companions of his flight.

La Fayette.—M. P. J. R. Y. G. Motier, marquis de la Fayette, was born in Auvergne, and is descended from an ancient family. He was educated in the college of Louis le Grand, at Paris, and received a commission in the Mousquetaires; soon after which he married a lady of the family of Noailles. When only nineteen years of age, this nobleman repaired to America, where he acquired considerable reputation by his military achievements, and rendered himself still more celebrated by his disinterestedness, he having refused, during the winter of 1777, to accept of the command of the American army, in prejudice to his friend general Washington, whose talents and virtues had not at that period been sufficiently appreciated. *(a)*

When the French revolution occurred, la Fayette prepared to act a distinguished part. In 1789 he became a member of the states-general, as a deputy from the nobility of Riom, in Auvergne; he had already been a member of the *Notables*, in 1789, and his attack on the administration of Calonne is said to have contributed to the downfal of that minister. He was the first to propose to the national assembly a plan for "a declaration of rights," and after the recal of Necker was unanimously elected commander in chief of the national guards. In this capacity he presided at the grand confederation on the 14th of July, as the *generalissimo* of a greater body of troops, perhaps than has ever been commanded by any other man since the days of Xerxes. No sooner was the constitution organised than he resigned his power and retired to one of his family estates, whence he did not return until a war against Austria had been resolved upon. He was at that period a major-general, but soon obtained the rank of lieutenant-general, and finally that of marshal of France, with a red ribband. Having been invested with the command of the armies of the Meuse and the Moselle, he left his head-quarters soon after the 20th of June, 1792, on purpose to complain of the indignities to which the king had been exposed in the course of that day; but a decree of accusation was at length voted against him, he was forsaken by his troops, and deemed it

(a) This assertion is notoriously without foundation. There never existed at any period of the American war, an idea of transferring the command of the army, from Washington to Fayette. The remark is not, however, made to derogate from the merits of the marquis; who certainly rendered very important services to the American cause, as well with his fortune, as his person.

Am. Edit.

prudent to fly along with a few of his friends. Being seized on neutral ground, in contravention of the laws of nations, they were considered, as will be seen hereafter, in the light of prisoners of war after they had ceased to be soldiers, and experienced a degree of severity, in respect to their treatment, reserved in general for malefactors alone.

Latour-Maubourg—had been colonel of the regiment of Soissonois, and deputy from the nobility of Puy en Velay to the states-general. Attached to the principles of the revolution, he was among the first of his order who joined the *third-estate*, and became one of the most ardent defenders of popular rights. When Louis XVI. was arrested at Varennes, Latour-Maubourg was nominated along with Petion and Barnave to reconduct the monarch to Paris; and when his friend la Fayette was placed at the head of one of the French armies, he accompanied him thither with the rank of major general, and afterwards shared his captivity in the Prussian and Austrian dungeons.

Bureau de Puzy—was originally an officer of engineers, and a deputy from the nobility of the balliage of Amont to the states-general. Like Latour-Maubourg, he joined the third-estate; and after the formation of the national assembly, presided several times over its debates. He was also a member of the military committee; and on the 10th of June, 1791, in consequence of the defection of the officers of the army, he proposed a decree, requiring a new oath of fidelity, by which each person was to declare himself for ever infamous in case he violated it.

At the conclusion of the labours of the first assembly, he served under la Fayette, and was denounced by Gaudet, for having proposed to marshal Luckner to unite both the armies and march straight to Paris, in order to punish the outrages committed against the king on the 20th of June. On this the assembly decreed that he should appear at their bar, in order to justify himself: he accordingly repaired thither, and produced a letter from marshal Luckner, testifying the information to be false; on which he was immediately declared innocent. He accompanied his general in his flight, and participated in all his subsequent misfortunes.

Alexander Lameth.—The family of Lameth received a distinguished protection at court, anterior to the revolution; and Alexander at an early period of his life attained the rank of colonel *en second*, and became a knight of Malta. After serving for some time in America, as aide-de-camp to M. de Rochambeau, he returned home, and in 1789 was elected a deputy by the nobles of Péronne to the states-general. Like several others of his own order, the count at first distinguished himself by his attachment to the popular cause, but he at length became a violent member of the *feuillant* club, and excited the rage and the vengeance of the jacobins; who asserted, that he and his family had changed their principles, merely because they possessed large estates in the West Indies. Certain it is, that after having been for a long time the implacable enemy of la Fayette, a reconciliation ensued, and he accompanied the gene-

ral to the army, and actually served under him. He also followed his fortunes, and for some time shared his fate; but his mother, madame Lameth, by means of her own influence, and that of her brother M. de Broglio, obtained first a melioration of his captivity, and then his liberty.

La Fayette perceiving himself abandoned by his army, and proscribed by the national assembly, as has been already mentioned, determined on flight. It was the intention of the general and his companions to repair to Holland, as that was a neutral country, and in the neighbourhood of their own. They accordingly set out on horseback dressed in their regimentals, and freely declared to all they met that they had quitted the French army, and were retiring to a place of refuge. They had not however travelled more than a few leagues beyond the frontiers, when they happened to be arrested by an Austrian patrole, and conducted to Luxemburg. Being at length permitted to address a letter to the duke of Saxe-Teschen, governor-general of the Low-countries, that prince not only signified his refusal in the most peremptory manner, but added, with a degree of bitterness wholly unsuitable to the occasion, "that they should be reserved for the scaffold."

Immediately after this, a correspondence took place between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, relative to these prisoners; and as it was at length determined that the monarch who commanded the combined army should be entrusted with the custody of la Fayette and his companions, they were immediately conducted under an escort, and imprisoned at Wesel, where they were confined separately, and constantly superintended by non-commissioned officers, who received strict orders never to permit them to remain for a single moment out of sight, or to answer any questions that were put by them.

La Fayette, overwhelmed with chagrin and mortification, fell sick, and became so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of; while in this condition, Maubourg was refused permission to visit his friend, now supposed to be on his death-bed. But a salutary crisis having occurred, and the king of Prussia thinking that he might be able to profit by his convalescence, caused it to be intimated that his situation would be meliorated, provided he would draw up plans against France; but la Fayette exhibited by means of an energetic answer his scorn of such a proposition: on this, the rigors of his confinement were increased; he and his companions were soon after thrown into a waggon, and conveyed to Magdeburg, care being taken that they should learn nothing respecting their families; concerning whose fate they experienced the most lively emotions, in consequence of the proscriptions that prevailed in France.

By removing them in this manner, it seems to have been the intention of their persecutors to aggravate their miseries, and excite the public indignation; but if such were their motives, they were greatly disappointed, as they every where experienced that interest and compassion, produced alike by the injustice of their detention, and the constancy of their courage.

"They remained," says Segur, *Tab. Pol.* t. III. p. 299, "during a whole year at Magdebourg, in a dark and humid vault, surrounded by high palisades, shut up by means of four successive doors, fortified by iron bars, and fastened with padlocks. Their fate however appeared to be now milder, as they were permitted to see each other, and allowed to walk for an hour each day on one of the bastions."

At length the king of Prussia, all of a sudden, ordered la Fayette to be removed to Neiss; Maubourg in vain solicited to be shut up along with him, but this favour was denied, and he was conducted to Glatz, whither Bureau de Puzy was also carried soon after.

Alexander Lameth, who was dangerously ill, could not be transported along with his companions. His mother, after many solicitations, prevailed on the king to permit him to remain within his own dominions; and soon after the peace had been concluded between that monarch and the French republic, he was fortunate enough to obtain his liberty.

The other prisoners were now confined in Neiss, for the purpose of being delivered up to Austria; and although the dungeon inhabited by them was still more dismal and unhealthy than any of the others, yet they still deemed themselves fortunate, for the three captives were permitted to enjoy the society of madame de Maisonneuve, who had courageously repaired thither to participate in the lot of her brother la Tour Maubourg.

Soon after this they were conducted to Olmutz, and on their arrival there, were so completely stripped of every thing, that only their buckles and their watches remained; some books were also taken from them, in which the word *liberty* happened to be inserted, particularly "L'Esprit," by Helvetius, and Paine's "Common Sense," both belonging to la Fayette. It was also declared to each while shutting them up separately in their respective cells, that henceforth they would never see any thing but the four walls of their dungeon; that they might expect no manner of intelligence either concerning persons or things; that the mention of their very names, even by the jailors, or in the dispatches sent to court, was prohibited, and that thenceforward they would only be designated by particular numbers; and that they could never receive any information concerning the fate of their families, or their own reciprocal existence; and that as men in this situation would be naturally inclined to destroy themselves, they must be interdicted the use of a knife, fork, and every other instrument which might produce suicide.

After three different attestations on the part of physicians, pointing out the indispensible necessity of fresh air for la Fayette, he was permitted to walk in the fortress. It was this circumstance that afforded him an opportunity to escape, on the 8th of November, 1794. Two Americans, doctor Dollman and Mr. Cruger, being affected with gratitude for the disinterested part he had acted during that war which rendered their country independent, and inspired at the same time with indignation and pity at his cruel and forlorn situation,

conceived the generous resolution of becoming his deliverers. This was accordingly effected, and he was actually carried off, but he happened to be retaken at Sternberg eight leagues distant, and reconducted to prison. During the struggle between la Fayette and the corporal to whose care he was entrusted, and whom he had disarmed, the latter, who had fallen in the contest, bit his hand to the bone: Dollman was delivered up to the Austrians. (b)

Subsequent to that period the captivity of la Fayette became more rigorous, and his malady more violent than before; he was left without any assistance, exposed to a continual fever during a severe winter, deprived of light, and even of the linen that his malady rendered necessary. Maubourg and Puzy, who had never attempted to escape, were also bereaved of the liberty of breathing the air of heaven; and in order to augment the horrors experienced by the general himself, he was made to believe, that the two gentlemen who so nobly interested themselves in his favour had perished on a scaffold.

While la Fayette was thus tortured in his dungeon at Olmutz, and apprehended daily to be delivered up to the axe of the executioner, his unhappy wife, who was confined in a prison at Paris, also expected every hour to suffer the same punishment that had been inflicted on the greater part of her family. The fall of Robespierre at length saved her life; but it was long afterwards before she regained her liberty, and the necessary strength to execute the design she had for some time meditated.

This unhappy lady having at length found means to leave France, landed at Altona, Sept. 9, 1795, set out immediately for Vienna under the name of Mottier, with an American passport, and arrived there with her two daughters before her design had been divulged. The prince de Rosenberg, affected by her virtues and her misfortunes, obtained an audience from the emperor, and leave to participate in the captivity of a husband and a father; but his Imperial majesty absolutely refused to make any promise relative to the liberty of la Fayette, while the wives of Maubourg and de Puzy, inspired by the same sentiments, were denied permission to share the misfortunes of their husbands, and could not even procure his assent to enter into the Austrian states.

On the arrival of madame la Fayette at Olmutz, she and her two lovely daughters were accordingly admitted into the fortress, but they were treated with the greatest inhumanity, and appear to have been refused liberty to hear mass on Sundays, or to have a servant to attend upon them. At length the health of this lady became so precarious, that she was prevailed upon to request permis-

(b) The facts are very inaccurately stated relative to this transaction. The persons, who assisted the marquis in his escape, were Dr. *Bollman*, (a young German, who had never at that time been in America, and who was employed for the purpose by several Americans then in Europe) and Mr. *Huger*, of South-Carolina, who was accidentally travelling through Germany, and voluntarily engaged to accompany Dr. Bollman in the hazardous attempt.

Am. Edit.

sion from his Imperial majesty to spend a week at Vienna, for the purpose of breathing fresh air, and consulting a physician. Two months after this, the *commandant* made his appearance for the first time, and after giving orders that the two young ladies should be confined to a particular chamber, signified to madame la Fayette, that she was expressly prohibited from ever appearing again in the capital, but was allowed to leave the jail, on condition, however, that she should never enter it again. She was at the same time desired to intimate her option: but this courageous female taking up a pen, wrote as follows:

"I DEEMED it proper for the sake of my family and my friends, to demand the succour necessary for the re-establishment of my health; but they must know that the price attached to this object, is not acceptable to me. I can never forget, when my husband and myself were ready to perish, I by the tyranny of Robespierre, and he by the physical and moral evils sustained by him during his captivity, that we were both reciprocally bereft of the knowledge of each other's existence, as well as that of our family, and I am fully determined never to expose myself again to the horrors of another separation.

"Whatever then may be the state of my own health, and the inconveniency attending the stay of my daughters in this place, we will most gratefully take advantage of the goodness his Imperial majesty has expressed towards us, by the permission to share in all the miseries of this captivity.

(Signed) "NOAILLES LA FAYETTE."

Subsequently to this period no complaints whatever were heard on the part of the unhappy sufferers, who inhaled in those chambers, or rather dungeons, an air so thoroughly impregnated and infected by a common sewer and the privies which were close to la Fayette's window, that the soldiers were accustomed to stop their noses on opening the door.

Maubourg, Puzy, and la Fayette, had already been imprisoned during three years and five months in the same gallery, without seeing or being acquainted with the fate of each other, and entertained no prospect whatever of their liberty, when the French directory, by means of their ambassador Barthelmi, interfered in their behalf; but this was at first attended with no beneficial effect whatever; and it was not until the conqueror of Italy had sent Louis Romeuf, formerly one of la Fayette's *aides-de-camp*, to solicit this favour, that the court of Vienna would consent to their deliverance.

The Austrian ministers endeavoured on this occasion to obtain conditions from the prisoners, which they were determined not to accede to; and it was even required by a nobleman employed for that purpose, that la Fayette should quit Europe immediately. Here follows the spirited reply transmitted by the latter:

"The commission with which the marquis de Chasteler is charged, appears to me to be reducible to three points :

"1. His imperial majesty is desirous that our situation should be verified ; but I am not disposed to make the least complaint on that subject. A number of the particulars may be discovered in the letters of my wife ; and if it be not sufficient for his imperial majesty to read once more the instructions sent from Vienna in his name, I will willingly afford any information to the marquis de Chasteler that he may be desirous of :

"2. His majesty the emperor and king wishes to be assured, that immediately after my deliverance I will set out for America : this intention has been often manifested on my part, but as my consent at the present moment would seem to recognise the right of imposing this condition, I do not deem it proper for me to accede to it ;

"3. His majesty the emperor and king has done me the honour to signify to me, that the principles which I profess being incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he does not wish that I should ever enter his states without receiving his own special permission. There are certain duties which I can never abandon ; by these I am connected with the United States, and more especially with France, and I cannot enter into an engagement with any one, in contravention to the claims which my country possesses in respect to my person. These exceptions being admitted, I can assure the general de Chasteler, that it is my invariable determination never to place my foot on any of the territories belonging to his majesty the king of Bohemia and Hungary."

The two other prisoners made similar declarations ; and they at length agreed, that they should all subscribe the following engagement and no other :

"We, the undersigned, engage to his majesty the emperor and king, never to enter his hereditary states, without having first obtained his special permission, with an exception however to the rights which our country possesses in respect to our persons.

(Signed) "La Fayette.
"Maubourg.
"Puzy."

This unexpected resistance greatly irritated the Austrian cabinet, and the doors of their dungeons were once more shut upon them, while Bonaparte was given to understand that they had been restored to their liberty. But at length, having received itelligence of what had occurred, he sent Romeuf to Vienna, and they were finally liberated in the month of September, 1797.

Immediately after this event had taken place they repaired to Hamburgh, and madame la Fayette having obtained leave to return to France, her husband was permitted by Bonaparte to repair thither also, soon after the revolution that occurred in November, 1799.

CHAP. IV.

State of Parties in the Capital—Conduct of the Jacobins—Alarm of the Executive Council—Behaviour of Danton.

No sooner was the king conveyed a prisoner to the Temple, than the two parties which had hitherto united to oppose the court, began to quarrel among themselves. The audacity of the Jacobins, however, after a short struggle, prevailed over the timid virtue of the girondists; a national convention was chosen under their influence; and Paris, the legislature, and every department of France, became subject to their controul. Marat, incessantly thirsting after blood, occupied an important station in the new municipality; Danton, who had contributed in so eminent a degree to overturn the late constitution, presided over the laws; while Robespierre, surrounded by assassins, coolly dictated lists of proscription.

In order to impress every mind with terror, revolutionary tribunals were soon after openly instituted and domiciliary visits took place amidst the silence of the night. Not content with these terrible engines of despotism, the prisons were forced, and the refractory priests massacred without ceremony; while a multitude of nobles and officers attached to

---

Latour-Maubourg, as well as his son and brother, were recalled by Bonaparte in 1800; and their friendship with the family of la Fayette has been still further cemented by a marriage between young Maubourg and a daughter of the general.

Alexander Lameth after having obtained his liberty by the influence of his mother, repaired to England in 1796, but he immediately received notice from the government to leave the kingdom, on which he retired to Hamburgh. In 1797 he returned to France, with a view of having his name erased from the list of emigrants; but he was soon obliged once more to withdraw. At length, however, the revolution effected by Bonaparte operated in a manner favourable to his wishes and in 1800 he was permitted to reside in his native country.

the royal cause were cruelly butchered, after being interrogated by a pretended court, which, in its forms and decisions, exhibited a complete mockery of justice.

In order to perpetrate such horrors, it was absolutely necessary that the rage of the Parisian mob should have been excited to an incredible degree of frensy, by a variety of corresponding events. The entrance of the combined army within the French territories, the impolitic manifestoes of the coalesced princes, the equivocal conduct of the kings of Spain and Sardinia, the denunciations of vengeance contained in the ill-timed declarations of the duke of Brunswick, and, above all, the threats and menaces of the exasperated emigrants, were calculated to inspire both rage and despair. Longwy and Verdun had fallen by treachery on one frontier, while on another and still nearer the metropolis, a body of Austrians, under the command of the prince of Saxe Teschen, over-ran Flanders, and threatened Lisle itself with a siege. The feeble army, opposed to the veteran troops of Prussia and of Austria, was known to be deficient in numbers, and the officers were suspected of attachment to the cause of monarchy. One of the generals* believed to be a traitor, after raising the standard of revolt against the legislature, had fled from his camp with several of his partisans; while the faith of another†, to whom was entrusted the last hopes of the state, was still dubious. In short, the people appeared to be exposed on every side to treason and vengeance; and it had been successfully inculcated into their minds, that on the nearer approach of the enemy, they would experience a general insurrection on the part of the prisoners and the aristocrats, with which the capital was known to abound.

The Parisians were thus incited by their fears, either to become the tame spectators, or the bloody actors in this tragedy; while the new members of the commune, not content with the butchery perpetrated by their orders within their own jurisdiction, wished, in imitation of Charles IX. at the mas-

* La Fayette. † Dumouriez.

sacre of St. Bartholomew, to make the provinces participate in their crimes‡.

But although the Jacobins displayed a bloody, vindictive, and ferocious disposition, it cannot on the other hand be denied, that they exhibited at this critical moment a degree of

---

‡ *Circulaire de la Commune de Paris, du 2e Septembre.*

" Frères et amis, un affreux complot, tramé par la cour, pour égorger tous les patriotes de l'empire Français, complot dans lequel un grand nombre de membres de l'assemblée nationale sont compromis, ayant réduit, le 9e du mois dernier, la commune de Paris à la cruelle nécessité de se servir de la puissance du peuple pour sauver la nation, elle n'a rien négligé pour bien mériter de la patrie. Après les témoignages que l'assemblée nationale venait de lui donner elle-même, eût-on pensé que dès-lors de nouveaux complots se tramaient dans le silence, et qu'ils éclataient dans le moment même où l'assemblée nationale, oubliant qu'elle venait de déclarer que la commune de Paris avait sauvé la patrie, s'empressait de la destituer, pour prix de son brûlant civisme ? A cette nouvelle, les clameurs publiques élevées de toutes parts, ont fait sentir à l'assemblée nationale la nécessité urgent de s'unir au peuple, et de rendre à la cummune, par le rapport du décret de destitution, les pouvoirs dont elle l'avait investie.

" Fière de jouir de toute la plénitude de la confiance nationale, qu'elle s'efforcera de mériter de plus en plus ; placée au foyer de toutes les conspirations, et déterminée à périr pour le salut public, elle ne se glorifiera d'avoir rempli pleinement son devoir, que lorsqu'elle aura obtenu votre approbation, qui est l'objet de tous ses vœux, et dont elle ne sera certaine qu'après que tous les départements auront sanctionné ses mesures pour le salut public ; et professant les principes de la plus parfaite égalité, n'ambitionnant d'autre privilége que celui de se présenter la première à la brèche, elle s'empressera de se soumettre au niveau de la commune la moins nombreuse de l'empire, dès qu'il n'y aura plus rien à redouter.

" Prévenue que des hordes barbares s'avancent contre elle, la commune de Paris se hâte d'informer ses frères de tous les départements, qu'une partie des conspirateurs fèroces, détenus dans les prisons, à été mise a mort par le peuple, actes de justice qui lui ont paru indispensables pour retenir par la terreua les légions de traitres renfermés dans ses murs, au moment où il allait marcher à l'ennemi, et sans doute la nation, après la longue suite de trahisons qui l'a conduite sur les bords de l'abime, s'empressera d'adopter ce moyen si utile et si nécessaire ; et tous les Français se diront, comme les Parisiens : nous marchons à l'ennemi, et nous ne laissons pas derrière nous des brigands pour égorger nos femmes et nos enfants.

(Signé) " Duplain, Panis, Sergent, Lenfant, Marat, Lefort, Jourdeuil,

" Administrateurs du comité de salut public, constitué à la mairie."

courage, energy, and perseverance, which achieved for a while, not only the complete triumph of their own party, but also the independence of France. All the implements of war were placed at the disposal of the ruling faction; the capital, and every city in the empire became at once an arsenal and a workshop for the armies, while each of the departments presented the appearance of one immense camp teeming with soldiers. The property of the emigrants, hitherto only sequestered, was now ordered to be sold, to oppose them and their allies. The brazen statues of their ancient monarchs furnished cannon to encounter the princes marching against them; the lead stripped from the palace of the last of their kings was melted into bullets, for the purpose of annoying the armies advancing to his support; while, by extracting saltpetre from the walls of the abandoned monasteries, and converting the forests appertaining to the royal domains into charcoal, thousands of chemists were enabled to supply the deficiency of the arsenals, and obtain the elements of destruction by means of a new and an easier process.

The silver saints*, the consecrated vessels, and the bells of the cathedrals, were at the same time coined into money for the maintenance of the armies; when this resource was exhausted, the *assignats* seemed to compensate for the loss of the precious metals; and the stamp, impressed by means of a paltry bit of copper being circulated in the *name of the nation*, at length beggared the treasuries of all the crowned heads of Europe.

The guilty magistrates of Paris, as if desirous to obliterate their inhumanity by their patriotism, displayed a prompti-

---

* National Assembly.—*August* 28, 1792.

"Certain petitioners appeared at the bar with a St. Roche and his dog in silver. They said, that they had prayed with great fervency to the saint, to cure their fellow-citizens of the political plague with which so many were afflicted, but in vain. The saint could do nothing for them in his present shape. They therefore requested the assembly to order him to be coined into *crowns*, in which new form they had no doubt but he might still be of service.

"Their gift was received with loud applause; and St. Roche, accompanied by his dog, was immediately sent to the mint."

tude of exertion worthy of better men; and at the very moment when they countenanced the massacres of their fellow-citizens in the prisons, they took the most vigorous steps to repel the invasion of a foreign enemy. Having published an energetic proclamation† on that fatal day, enjoining the people to fly to arms, they immediately ordered the *tocsin* to be sounded, alarm guns to be fired, the drums to beat in all the

† "Aux armes! citoyens, aux armes! l'ennemi est à nos portes."

"Le procureur de la commune ayant annoncé les dangers pressants de la patrie, les trahisons dont nous sommes menacés, l'état de dénuement de la ville de Verdun, assiégée en ce moment par les enemis, qui, avant huit jours, sera peut-être en leur pouvoir; le conseil-général arrête:

"1. Les barrières seront à l'instant fermées.

"2. Tous le chevaux en état de servir à ceux qui se rendent aux frontièrer seront sur le champ arrêtés.

"3. Tous les citoyens se tiendront prêts à marcher, au premier signal.

"4. Tous les citoyens, qui, par leur âge ou leurs infirmités, ne peuvent marcher en ce moment, déposeront leurs armesa leur section, et on armera ceux des citoyens peu fortunés qui se destineront à marcher sur le frontières.

"5. Tous les hommes suspects, ou qui par lâcheté refuseraient de marcher, seront à l'instant désarmés.

"6. Vingt-quatre commissaires se rendront sur le champ aux armées, pour leur annoncer cette résolution, et dans les départements voisins, pour inviter les citoyens à se réunir à leur frères de Paris, et marcher ensemble à l'ennemi.

"7. Le comité militaire sera permanent; il se réunira à la maison commune, dans la salle ci-devant de la reine,

"8. Le canon d'alarme sera tiré à l'instant; la générale sera battue dans toutes les sections pour annoncer aux citoyens les dangers de la patrie.

"9. L'assemblée nationale, le pouvoir exécutif, seront prévenus de cet arrêté.

"10. Les membres du conseil-général se rendront sur le champ dans leurs sections respectives, y annonceront les dispositions du présent arrêté, y peindront avec energie, à leurs concitoyens, les dangers immenses de la patrie, les trahisons dont nous sommes environnées ou menacés; ils leur représenteront avec force la liberté menacée, le territoire Français envahi; ils leur feront sentir que le retour à l'esclavage le plus ignominieux, est le but de toutes les démarches de nos ennemis; et que nous devons, plutôt que de le souffrir, nous ensevelir sous les ruines de notre patrie, et ne livrer nos villes que lorsqu'elles ne seront plus qu'un monceau de cendres."

sections, and the barriers to be shut. They then put all the inhabitants of a proper age, and every horse fit for service, in what was termed a *state of requisition;* in other words, they ordered them to be kept in readiness for marching to the frontiers. An immense multitude of the youth ran eagerly to their respective districts, for the purpose of inscribing their names in the new military registers; a number of old men also enrolled themselves as volunteers; such as were disabled by age or infirmities, confided their arms to those who enjoyed health and strength: a military enthusiasm inspired all ranks and all parties; the victors and the vanquished, who had so lately fought at the assault of the Tuilleries, mingled together in the same battalion; and those whose lives were menaced in the capital, hoped to find safety in the camp; happier far to perish in battle against a presumptuous enemy, than to fall beneath the axe of the executioner!

These new troops, embodied under such unhappy auspices, immediately marched to Châlons, and carrying along with them a spirit of mutiny and insubordination, became more formidable at first to their own officers than to the enemy. But no sooner were their suspicions allayed, than they displayed an unexpected degree of zeal and valour, and contributed greatly by their gallantry, as well as by their obedience, to the victories that ensued.

In the mean time the members of the executive council were not devoid of fear. Roland, Servan, and Clavieres, knowing that the safety of Paris depended on the suspicious fidelity of Dumouriez, and the uncertain resolution of a raw and feeble army, and being equally alarmed at the success of the ferocious Jacobins, and the victorious progress of an incensed enemy, they proposed, in case of extremity, to remove with the assembly and the king to the southern departments, where the inhabitants had displayed more zeal and animation than those of the north. They even wished to prevail upon the general to abandon the forest of Argonne, where they imagined he would be surrounded and taken prisoner, and actually prohibited Kellermann from forming a junction with him. But they were successfully opposed by the mini-

ster of justice ; who, with his usual boldness, rejecting all idea of flight, declared it to be his determination to contest every inch of territory with the enemy, and at length forced his colleagues to adopt a more vigorous system of defence. It was accordingly agreed, to call forth all the resources of the metropolis and the nation ; to collect an army of reserve at Châlons, which was to form a junction with that of Flanders, in case of extremity ; and, instead of retiring behind the Loire, as had been suggested, to send immediate and effectual succours to Dumouriez. This manly resolution instilled hope into the people, while it diffused courage among the armies ; and the same Frenchman who had so recently countenanced the vilest murders, was now beheld exhibiting the stoical virtues of a Roman ; for when urged as to the proximity of the danger, and told that the king of Prussia would sup on that day fortnight in the palace of the Tuilleries, Danton replied with the magnanimity peculiar to his character in times of danger—" I have sent for my mother and two children to Paris, and they arrived but yesterday ;—sooner, however, than behold an audacious and triumphant enemy enter this city, I and my family will perish here, for twenty thousand torches shall reduce it to a heap of ashes !"

He afterwards repaired along with the other ministers to concert measures with the legislative body, relative to the defence of the empire ; and, on this occasion also, contrived to inspire the resolution with which he himself appeared to be animated into the minds of all who heard him. " The whole nation," exclaimed he, " is in commotion, and languishes to engage the enemy. One portion of the people is at this moment about to march to the frontiers ; another is ready to construct entrenchments for the protection of the capital ; a third is prepared to defend our cities with their pikes.

" The magistrates have issued a proclamation, containing a solemn invitation for all able to carry arms to march immediately for the defence of their country. This then is the moment, legislators ! for you to declare that Paris hath deserved well of the nation ; this is the moment that the

national assembly ought to become a committee of war. We demand, therefore, that you will concur with us, in directing this sublime movement that hath just taken place on the part of the people, by nominating commissioners in order to second us in the great measures we are about to adopt.

"We request, that whosoever may refuse to march in person, or to give up his arms, shall be punished with death. The *tocsin*, which now sounds, is not the effect of alarm; it is the signal to attack the enemies of our country; and, in order to conquer them, audacity alone is wanting."

CHAP. V.

The Prussians enter France—Surrender of Longwy and Verdun—State of the French Army—Dumouriez calls a Council of War—Takes Post in the Forest of Argonne.

No sooner had Frederick-William received intelligence of the insurrection in Paris, the siege of the Tuilleries, and the captivity of the monarch, than he redoubled his exertions. The main body of the Austrians had not as yet arrived, but his own army was numerous; and while the infantry was allowed to be excellent, the cavalry was considered as the best appointed, and most formidable, that had perhaps ever taken the field. The name of his illustrious uncle, and the memory of his exploits, had not only increased the glory, but impressed the terror of the Prussian arms on the minds of mankind; while the general who acted under him was pointed out, by the voice of Frederick and of Europe, as the best captain of his age. Many commanders who had acquired great reputation during the seven-years' war also served with his troops; and the king himself inflamed the zeal of all around him, by the ebullition of that chivalrous spirit so befitting the cause which he had taken upon him to defend. Both he and his son, who accompanied him upon this expedition appeared to be avaricious of glory, and careless of dan-

ger; it was imagined that their presence would ensure success, and that mushroom commanders, unacquainted with the art of war, unadorned by titles, and alike unknown in camps and in courts, would be abashed in the sight of kings. Eager for victory, and trusting to fortune, although the combined army was amply provided with field-pieces, it happened to be completely destitute of the heavy artillery so necessary for the success of a siege; but it was hoped that no city would presume to resist, and that the fortified places would be readily surrendered by the very garrisons appointed for their defence. The exiles too offered, with their accustomed gallantry, to act as an advanced guard, and were not only desirous of encountering all the dangers of this expedition, but also admirably calculated, by means of their information and connexions, to ensure its success. Among them were many princes and peers of France, who were still supposed to possess immense influence: in their ranks were seen several generals, such as the marshals de Broglio and Castries, who had acquired glory in the last continental war; while the name of the duke de Bourbon and the military talents of the successor of the great Condé seemed to reflect lustre on their cause. This body, in which almost every soldier had been an officer and a noble, already exhibited by its luxury, its ardour, and its presumption, a singular contrast to the gravity and discipline of the German troops; but these circumstances, which in the moment of defeat were construed into a crime, appeared at this period to afford a happy augury of approaching success.

The combined troops were at length put in motion, and as the season for action was already pretty far advanced, hopes were entertained that the celerity of their motions would fully compensate for the delays that had already intervened. They accordingly commenced their march in three separate columns, and after reaching the frontiers, entered France towards the latter end of summer.

The success of the invaders appeared at first to justify the hopes and promises of the expatriated nobles. In consequence of the irruption of a body of Austrians into French Flanders, Luckner had not been as yet able to form a junc-

tion with the forces in the Northern department, and he was afraid to expose an inferior number of troops, wholly destitute of discipline, to the attack of a veteran army; unable even to maintain a respectable position before them, he had been already constrained to abandon the camp of Fontoi, and was actually forced at this moment to take refuge under the cannon of Metz. Part of the frontiers being thus laid open in consequence of his precipitate retreat, Longwy was immediately invested. Had this place been well supplied with provisions and defended with bravery, it might have arrested for some time the progress of the invaders; but lieutenant-colonel Lavergne the *commandant*, after a bombardment of fifteen hours, delivered it up at the second summons*. The inhabitants, who were affrighted at seeing a

---

* National Assembly, *August* 24, 1792.

"As the assembly was about to break up, an extraordinary courier arrived from the administrators of Verdun, with intelligence that Longwy had been taken from the French by an army of eight thousand men, commanded by the king of Prussia in person, fifteen hours after the trenches had been opened against it."

August 26.

"M. Servan, minister at war, appeared at the bar, and read a letter from marshal Luckner, containing an account of the capture of Longwy, on the morning of Wednesday, the 22d. The enemy presented themselves before the place on the 21st, with sixty thousand men, and besieged it for fifteen hours, during which time they fired upon it incessantly. The magistrates and citizens pressed the governor to surrender, who, yielding it is said to their instances, obtained an honourable capitulation.

"The Prussian army then entered Longwy without committing the smallest outrage; and it appeared that they meant to take possession of the post of Fontoi, which had been abandoned by marshal Luckner, in order that they might afterwards lay siege to Thionville.

"M. Doffer, president of the military committee, asserted that treachery or cowardice alone could have put this place into the enemy's hands. He recapitulated the state of its fortifications and warlike stores, to prove that it was in an excellent state for sustaining a siege, being defended by seventy pieces of cannon, pointed through casemates of an admirable construction, with a garrison of three thousand five hundred men.

"'He is a traitor!' exclaimed many of the members: 'His name?' his name?' The minister replied, 'M. Lavergne.'

few of their houses in flames, had assembled and demanded that the gates should be opened to the king of Prussia. This cowardice on the part of the townsmen produced a decree devoting them to reproach and execration; and the governor suffered a capital punishment soon after for his criminal compliance*.

The king of Prussia immediately took possession of Longwy in the name of Louis the XVI. and not doubting but that all the neighbouring cities would receive him with equal eagerness, after detaching a body of fifteen thousand men to lay siege to Thionville, he himself advanced with great rapidity against an adjacent fortress, while the little army under Clairfait at the same time seized on Stenai.

The French territory was thus invaded and its fortified places invested with impunity; the national armies seemed to be annihilated, and Verdun, which could not be expected long to withstand the assault of a victorious foe, was now surrounded by the royal troops. Its surrender was accordingly equally prompt, but far more excusable than that of

---

" M. Lecointre moved, 'that the minister of war, the military committee, and the extraordinary commission, should all be ordered to declare whether they had sufficient means to save France from the dangers of this invasion, as marshal Luckner had written in a doubtful manner on the subject.' He concluded with proposing, 'that thirty thousand national guards of Paris and the circumjacent departments should march in eight days to the frontiers.'

" M. Chodieu thought there was no occasion for being so soon alarmed. He endeavoured to point out the immense resources of France, its superiority in point of force, and the gross impolicy on the part of the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the empire, as their return would be prevented by the camps of Sedan, Mouzon, Maulde, and Maubeuge. 'The only way,' observed he, 'to ruin our cause, is to resign ourselves to fear and discouragement.'

" The assembly, struck with the force of these observations, passed to the order of the day."

* Louis-François Lavergne-Champ-Laurier was tried and condemned on the 31st of March, 1794. His wife, who was present at the sentence, formed the generous resolution of perishing with her husband, and instantly exclaimed " Vive le roi !" She was accordingly executed on the same day: a barbarous and inadequate punishment for a female whose conjugal affection ought to have excited pity and even applause!

Longwy, while the event itself was rendered memorable by the gallant conduct and glorious death of the officer who commanded there. Notwithstanding the place, owing to the most culpable negligence, was equally destitute of provisions, ammunition, and a suitable garrison, he determined to defend it to the last extremity, knowing how important it was to afford time to the national troops to collect and form a junction. But the enemy kept up a secret intercourse with several of the inhabitants, and even some of the magistrates were supposed to be devoted to them. It was the opinion also of the municipal officers, who were either swayed by treason or their own fears, that the town was not tenable, and that it ought to be immediately surrendered. Beaurepaire, indignant at this advice, determined to persist in his resistance, although the garrison consisted of no more than two battalions; but finding all his efforts useless, he drew a pistol from his belt, and, scorning to survive his honor, discharged it against his temple, in the midst of a council of war*.

In the mean time Dumouriez displayed no common share of ability and activity in the exercise of the new and important employment with which he was now entrusted. After transmitting peremptory orders to all the officers both civil and military in the department of the Ardennes to liberate the imprisoned deputies and arrest la Fayette, he took the necessary measures for collecting the army of the North. Relying on the resistance of Longwy, and the fidelity of the old and experienced officer who commanded there, he continued his preparations with the chief commissary Malus, and Moreton who was at the head of his staff, so that every thing might be got ready for opening the campaign. As the

---

* Delaunai d'Angers afterwards moved for and obtained a decree, in consequence of which his body was entombed under the magnificent dome of the Pantheon, and the following inscription affixed there;

BEAUREPAIRE
AIMA MIEUX MOURIR QUE
DE CAPITULER
AVEC LES TYRANS.

Swiss regiments had just been disbanded, and there were three of them in garrison on the northern frontiers, he gave orders to enlist all the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who might present themselves; and he intended that these should form the basis of eight independent battalions of eight hundred men each, into which he meant to incorporate all the Austrian deserters who might be tempted to join his standard in consequence of an alluring decree, which held out the temptation of one hundred *livres* per annum, and fifty *livres* by way of gratification, to each*.

He also took the necessary measures to increase to six thousand men the body of Belgians intended to act as the vanguard of his army; he demanded at the same time an augmentation of troops and of arms from the minister at war, and he even found means to procure a further supply of the latter from Holland, by the way of Dunkirk.

But he no sooner received the important intelligence of the flight of la Fayette, and the surrender of Longwy after a siege of only two days, than he determined to repair to the camp of Sedan, where the army, destitute of a commander, was reduced to despair and ready to disband. Notwithstanding this, he was still so conscious of the advantages likely to be derived from the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, that he remained during some time for the purpose of communicating his instructions relative to a future irruption into the Low-countries: having entrusted the management of this business to Malus and Moreton, he sent notice to general Labourdonnaye to repair to Valenciennes and put himself at the head of the army during his absence. He announced at the same time, with a spirit bordering on the romantic, and an air of prediction which he himself could scarcely expect to realise, that he would return in a few weeks and undertake the expedition into Belgium in the course of that very year. He then set off, in company with Westermann, who had just received the *brevet* rank of lieutenant-colonel, a single aide-de-camp, and his *valet-de-*

* Mém. du General Dumouriez, t. III.

chambre Baptiste, who already seemed to participate in the courage and enterprizing genius of his master. On his arrival at Sedan, two days after, he found general Dangest at the head of the army; but he was wholly incompetent to the important station which he now occupied, in consequence of the defection of so many officers of superior rank and abilities. He beheld the troops discouraged, dispirited, and divided into two bodies. The advanced guard, consisting of six thousand chosen men, occupied a camp on the right banks of the Meuse and the high grounds of Vau that would have required forty thousand to defend it, while the main body, composed of only seventeen thousand troops, was posted on the heights of Sedan, at the distance of three leagues in the rear.

The invasion of France, joined to the flight of the general had spread consternation throughout the army. The soldiers, who had not recovered from the astonishment impressed on them by recent events, considered all the officers as traitors, and under this pretext neglected discipline and subordination. The members of the neighbouring districts expected and even wished for a counter-revolution: no step was taken to check their disaffection on the part of the troops, who were kept in a state of inactivity; and had the duke of Brunswick, who could not be ignorant of these particulars, pushed forward a detachment towards Sedan at this critical period, the French would have retired in all directions, carrying terror and dismay into the adjacent garrisons, and perhaps even within the walls of the capital. After assembling and encouraging the municipal officers of the towns and the magistrates of the department, Dumouriez repaired to the camp. With a singular indelicacy, which no circumstances could justify, he appropriated the field-equipage, horses and domestics of his rival la Fayette, to his own use; and on visiting the troops who had been prejudiced against him, he perceived a sullen air to prevail every where, more especially among the cavalry, a body that had always leaned towards the aristocracy Some of the regiments of the line expressed their disapprobation by mur-

murs, and he was openly accused as the author of all the present calamities of France*.

Nor was either the character or situation of the new commander calculated to inspire implicit confidence. He had been but lately invested with a civil employment, and had never occupied any military station of importance. He was equally unacquainted with the army that he now directed, and the country he was about to defend; he had neither general nor staff-officers to assist him; and after the treacherous surrender of Longwy he could not depend on the resistance of any of the fortresses. A major-general, whom he had sent forward with two battalions in order to strengthen Verdun, had been obliged to retire; while Sedan and Mezieres were incapable of a serious resistance. In addition to these considerations, his troops did not exceed twenty-three thousand men, at once disorganised and diffused to discipline, while the enemy could oppose a body of eighty thousand choice soldiery, with four times the number of his cavalry, conducted by a powerful monarch, and generals grown hoary under arms.

He would be obliged too to forsake his present position in a hilly country, in order to defend first the extensive plains of Champagne, and afterwards all the open tract between the Marne and the Seine, so favourable to the evolutions of veteran troops, and where new levies could scarcely be expected to stand a single charge of the horse. Nor must it be forgotten that from Luckner he could expect no assistance; for the marshal was not only his personal enemy, but had rendered himself incapable of serving him by retreating into the camp of Richemont, with a view of covering Metz, left

* On passing along the front of a company of grenadiers, Dumouriez heard one of them exclaim, "It is that —— who occasioned the war!"

This being one of the motives by which they had endeavoured to render him odious, he instantly stopped and replied, "Is there any one here so great a coward as to lament the war? Do you hope to achieve your liberties without fighting for them?" These observations produced a good effect, and served to reanimate the courage of the troops. Life of Gen. Dumouriez, vol. III. p. 77.

like all the other frontier garrisons in a defenceless state: the northern army was too far distant for speedy succour, and the new-raised battalions from the capital, destitute of arms, of officers, and of discipline, could be but of little service at the commencement of the campaign. Such was the inauspicious situation of the troops and of the man on whom the fate of France now depended, and the result is not a little favourable to all those who, uniting courage with talents, and confidence with discretion, are invested with the glorious office of defending their country.

Dumouriez, who had hitherto exhibited the appearance of firmness and even of gaiety, was now desirous of making himself acquainted with the genius, character, and opinions of the generals under his command. He accordingly assembled a council of war, composed of lieutenant-general Dillon, who, although his senior in point of rank, had not declined to serve under him; and the four major-generals, Vouillers, Chazot, Dangest, and Dietmann; to these he added Petit, his principal commissary, a man of whose merit he entertained a high opinion, and the three officers who composed his own staff.

Having presented a map of Champagne, he then told them "that the king of Prussia having taken Longwy, and sat down before Verdun, while another body of the army advanced beyond Thionville and menaced Metz, there were no means left either to form a junction with marshal Luckner, or to procure succours from any other quarter in sufficient time to march against the Prussians and deliver Verdun; that he had dispatched general Galbaud thither with two battalions; that whether he did or did not succeed in throwing himself into a place, with the weakness of which every body was acquainted, it ought to be regarded as lost, for it could only hold out a few days more or less according to the success of Galbaud's mission; that, whatever might occur, he could not receive any reinforcements for upwards of a fortnight, and even these reinforcements would be very insignificant.

"That accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but the little army which they had along with them, and

which was entrusted with the salvation of their native country. It did not in truth amount to one quarter of the enemy's forces ; but, on the other hand, the cavalry was composed of the best regiments of France, and consisted of upwards of five thousand men ; more than one-half of the infantry, which exceeded eighteen thousand, was formed of regiments of the line ; the remainder of battalions of national guards, well disciplined, rendered warlike by a whole year's encampment, perpetual marches, and continual skirmishes with the enemy : the artillery was numerous and excellent, there being more than sixty pieces in the park, in addition to the battalion guns.

" That with these means, and the advantage of acting in their own country, every thing was to be expected ; because the Prussians would of course be retarded by the necessity of undertaking sieges, the difficulty of finding provisions, the delays incident to their convoys, their own numbers, and above all by their artillery. A numerous cavalry, the brilliant equipages of so many princes, and the quantity of draught horses necessary to transport their cannon and provisions, would render their march tedious and embarrassing."

He concluded by observing, " that it was impossible to remain inactive in the position before Sedan, and it became necessary on the instant to take some decided part."

Lieutenant-general Dillon began by stating it as his opinion, " that the Marne ought to be placed between the troops and the enemy, and Châlons occupied by the former before the latter could reach it." He remarked at the same time, " that in case they anticipated the French, they would be between Paris and the army ;" and insisted, " that the safety of the capital was of more consequence than the preservation of a country which they were unable to defend." He then ended by prososing, " to leave general Chazot with a few battalions in the entrenched camp before Sedan, and to make a rapid march with the remainder of the army behind the forest of Argonne, by way of St. Menehould, in order to reach Châlons, and even Rheims, if Châlons should be previously occupied ; to post the army behind the Marne

on purpose to defend the passage of that river, and to wait for reinforcements, which would pour in from all parts and enable the French once more to advance."

This scheme, plausible in itself, was supported by such forcible and cogent reasons, that it was instantly adopted by the whole council; all the members of which immediately separated, except the adjutant-general Thouvenot, who remained alone with Dumouriez. During the interesting conference which had just taken place, the latter attentively studied the opinions and characters of all present; and he thought that he discovered in this officer a degree of zeal and ability that might prove highly serviceable. La Fayette had employed and confided in his genius, but he had not taken any care of his advancement, nor even forewarned him of his intended flight: these circumstances were calculated to make an impression on the general, and from that moment Thouvenot became his friend and confident. It was to him alone that he disclosed his plans, and detailed his reasons for opposing the prevailing opinion. He observed, "that he did not approve of retiring to Chalons and abandoning Lorraine, the Bishoprics, and the Ardennes, which could not be easily re-conquered; that besides it would hold out a fresh inducement for the Prussians to pursue him, and in such a case a retreat would soon degenerate into a flight; that on retiring behind the Marne it would be absolutely necessary to burn Châlons, and sacrifice Rheims and Soissons; that all communication with the army of the north on one side, and the troops under Luckner on the other, would be then entirely at an end; that the Prussians would find abundance of provision, after having traversed *Champagne-pouilleuse*, in the rich countries around Rheims and Epernay; that a position at Châlons would enable them either to march to Paris by the road leading through Epernay and Rheims, or by Vitry and Troyes, unless they rather chose to employ the two remaining months of the campaign in conquering Lorraine and the Ardennes; that, even if they were inclined to cross the Marne at Châlons, it would be impossible to defend that river, which might be passed either above or below the town; that the enemy would then proceed skirmishing all the way

to Paris, there not being a single strong post between Châlons and the capital, and that the French army would be destroyed, even before their arrival there, by the numerous cavalry appertaining to the Prussians."

Then, pointing to the forest of Argonne * upon the map, "Behold," continued Dumouriez, "the Thermopylæ of France; if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Prussians, all will be saved."

The forest which Dumouriez intended to occupy is of an oblong form, at least thirteen leagues in length, and varying from three to one in breadth; it extends from the neighbourhood of Sedan to more than a league beyond St. Menehould; it separates the Bishoprics from the most sterile and barren part of France, termed Champagne-pouilleuse by way of contempt. Being intersected with mountains, rivers, and marshes, this woody country is rendered impervious to the march of an invading army, except by five avenues, called *Le Chêne-populeux*, leading from Sedan to Rhetel; *La Croix-aux-bois*, in the direction from Briquenai to Vouzieres; *Grandprey*, in the neighbourhood of which is the great road

* The forest of Argonne, according to the description of general Dumouriez, is a belt of wood which extends from within about a league of Sedan, and stretches east and west as far as Passavant, a little more than a league beyond St. Menehould: other tracts of wood, intermingled with plains, running in the direction of Rèvigny-aux-vaches, point towards Bar-le-duc; but the *forest of Argonne*, properly so called, does not extend further than Passavant, which makes its length thirteen leagues. Its breadth is very unequal, being in some parts three or four leagues, while in others it does not exceed a whole, and even sometimes half a league.

It separates the Bishoprics, a very rich and fertile country, from Champagne-pouilleuse, the most frigthful desert in all France, the soil of which is a cold and viscous clay, and where there is neither water, wood, nor pasturage, but only a few miserable villages scattered over a sterile plain, a few parts of which alone rise almost insensibly above the rest. The borders of the forest at the two extremities present a country rich in pasturage, and well stocked with inhabitants.

It is intersected with mountains, rivers, rivulets, lakes, and marshes, which render it impenetrable to the march of an army, except in five openings, which present an equal number of roads leading from Champagne to the Bishoprics. See vol. III. of the Life of Dumouriez.

from Stenai to Rheims ; *La Chalade*, which crosses the woods from Varennes to St. Menehould ; and *Les Islettes*, through which lies the road from Verdun to Paris by St. Menehould.

Having employed three whole days in making the necessary preparations, the commander in chief determined instantly to occupy these important passes, which were to be disputed with the enemy by means of troops unacquainted with this species of warfare, and not sufficiently numerous to execute even a system of defensive operations. It now became necessary to dispatch general Dillon with the advanced guard, which had been posted on the left bank of the Marne, to St. Renehould, in order to shut up the two great roads of Clermont and Varennes by means of two distinct positions, one at Islettes and the other at Chalade; while Dumouriez himself was to be stationed at Grandprey, on purpose to command the road leading to Rheims as well as that of Croix-aux-bois: such was his deficiency in point of force, that he did not as yet possess a sufficient number of troops to block up the passage of Chêne-populeux, but he hoped that Verdun, with whose surrender he was unacquainted, would hold out for a week at least, and thus afford him leisure for compleating his preparations.

In the mean time, he transmitted orders to Lanoue, at the camp of Maubeuge, to dispatch four battalions and three squadrons to Avesnes : the same courier was to proceed to the head quarters of Duval at Pont-sur-Sambre, and carried instructions for that general, in consequence of which he was to strike his camp instantly and repair to Avesnes, to form a junction with the other troops, and occupy the pass of Chene-populeux with six thousand men, by means of forced marches, on or before the 7th of September.

In addition to this, he dispatched orders to Beurnonville to march to his assistance with twelve battalions and three squadrons from the camp of Maulde, and also to send forward the French light infantry, as well as that of Belgium and Liege, forming in all eight or nine thousand men : he was expressly enjoined, at the same time, to reach Rhetel on the 13th of September.

By way of supplying the deficiency of superior officers and rewarding the fidelity of those who remained faithful to their duty, Dumouriez obtained the rank of lieutenant-general for Dangest, Dietmann, Ligneville, and Chazot; he also appointed four new major-generals, among whom was Miaczinski, and augmented his own staff.

With his usual zeal and activity, he at the same time dispatched couriers as well as officers by different roads to Metz, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence: that neither Mezieres nor Sedan might be left destitute of ammunition, he obtained supplies from Fère and Douay: he pointed out St. Menehould as the place of rendezvous for all the reinforcements of cavalry and infantry which might be sent from the interior, Chalons, which he had at first pitched upon for that purpose, being too much exposed to the enemy. General d'Harville received instructions to assume the command at Rheims, where he was to assemble troops; ovens were constructed for the supply of the army, not only there, but at Vouzieres, St. Menehould, and Rhetel; and instead of establishing magazines in the frontier cities, as had been done by la Fayette at Verdun and Sedan, the provisions and forage were collected in his rear.

While thus busied in arranging the details of service, Dumouriez did not neglect to acquire the confidence of the troops entrusted to his charge. To obtain this, he shewed himself to the army daily, employed every art to attain popularity, and after inflaming the minds of the soldiery with the hopes of glory and of victory, he promised to reward their zeal by leading them against the enemy. As he had determined from the first to act in conformity to his own plans and judgment alone, he formed and issued a new order of battle, and bestowed the *brevet* rank of major-general on lieutenant-colonel Stengel, of the regiment of Berchiny, with a view of animating his exertions and securing his fidelity.

It now only remained for him to carry his scheme into execution, in such a manner as neither to be anticipated nor beaten by the enemy. This had become extremely difficult: for the distance from Verdun, where the Prussian army was posted, to Islettes was only about six leagues; while Dillon

(now stationed at Mouzon), before he occupied that defile, provided he took the nearest route, must advance in front of Stenai in the face of general Clairfait's army, consisting of about fifteen thousand men; and it would have been impossible to reach the place of destination by taking a circuit in the rear of the forest, without a march of twenty leagues.

Dumouriez also learned that Grandprey, by the straight road through Yon and Buzancy, was twelve leagues distant; but in passing behind the forest more than twenty: when arrived at this post, he would be six leagues only from the Austrians. But the general determined not to follow either of the two great roads leading to the defiles of Argonne, as this would disclose his project and subject him to an attack that might have deprived him of his baggage and artillery. He resolved on the contrary, to adopt a mode at once more bold and more audacious, in which he completely succeeded by divining the intention of the enemy. Perceiving that general Clairfait did not advance against him, but persevered in remaining on the defensive with a small advanced guard posted on the left bank of the Meuse, he concluded that it was the intention of this army to act merely as a corps of observation, and that on being attacked it would instantly occupy the strong camp of Brouenne in the rear. Dumouriez, who was not mistaken in his conjectures, determined to effect his purpose in the following manner: having divided his army into three bodies, he gave orders that his vanguard should advance against Stenai, which it was instructed to mask, and, lest any obstacle might intervene, he himself was to follow with the main body, composed of twelve thousand men, in order of battle, without any incumbrance whatever; while general Chazot, with a detachment of five thousand troops, should escort the baggage and artillery through Tannay and Armoises, without any danger of molestation in consequence of this decisive movement in front.

Accordingly, after leaving a garrison of four battalions at Sedan, he made a movement with his army and artillery on the 31st of August, and commenced his march on the next morning. In consequence of orders transmitted to Dillon, general Miaczinski was sent forward with fifteen hundred

men to attack Stenai, and he himself was enjoined to support him by occupying the left bank of the river and the wood of Neuville. The brave Pole executed his instructions with equal promptitude and success, and a sharp action ensued, during which the cavalry on both sides displayed great courage; but the Imperialists at length fell back, and Clairfait, as had been predicted by Dumouriez, retired to Brouenne.

Having encamped the first night by the side of the great road leading to Stenai, with his head-quarters at Yon, Dumouriez posted some infantry in the wood of Neuville, and along the borders of the Meuse: on the evening of the next day he took post at Berliere, and Dillon at St. Pierremont; on the succeeding afternoon the latter passed through the defile of Chalade and occupied the pass of Islettes, already taken possession of by general Galbaud with four battalions and the garrison of Longwy*, while the main body remained on the same ground, on purpose to allow Chazot's column to pass; after which it continued its march and reached Grandprey.

This position, rendered so memorable in consequence of the events to which it gave rise, was found to be nearly inexpugnable. Placed between two rivers, it was flanked by hamlets on the right and left, provided with a convenient village in the rear for the artillery, and defended on all sides by means of woods, eminences, a castle, and redoubts lined with cannon†.

---

* The troops which had served in Longwy were destitute of arms, and the battalions under general Galbaud became so panic-struck on the appearance of a detachment of Prussians and emigrants at Varennes, that they fled immediately to St. Menehould. On the retreat of the enemy, however, he resumed his former position.

† Here follows the description of the encampment:

"This camp is situate between the Aisne and the Aire, the left being flanked by the village of Grandprey, and the right by that of Marque. It consists of a grand amphitheatre very much elevated above a meadow, terminated by the river Aire, which separates Grandprey from the site of the encampment, thence running by the village of Marque, and all along the front of the camp.

CHAP. VI.

Camp at Grandprey—Gallantry of Colonel Laharpe—Situation of the rival Armies—Dumouriez retreats from the Forest of Argonne—Terror and Confusion during the March—The French occupy the Camp of St. Menehould—Siege of Thionville.

THE army had scarcely taken possession of the camp of Grandprey, when intelligence arrived of the surrender of Verdun, the particulars of the capitulation, and the heroic

---

This amphitheatre is skirted by the forest towards the right, and bound by the river on the left.

"In the rear of the camp is the village of Senuque, where the park of artillery was stationed. The communication across the river was kept up by means of a stone bridge, and the Aisne was afterwards passed on a second bridge, at the village of Grandchamp: the Aisne runs behind the camp, and is bordered by rising grounds elevated above the level of the camp.

"A strong advanced guard was posted in front of the Aire, forming a half-moon, and passing from the right to the left by St. Jouvin, Verpelle, Bessieu, and Mortaume. St. Jouvin is a flat and circular spot, easy of defence: colonel Stengel was posted there, and his retreat was secured by means of two bridges opposite Marque. Verpelle and Champigneul were only points of communication; the retreat thence was towards Bessieu. Bessieu is a village protected by a woody mountain extending along the front of the camp. The point of retreat was towards the village of Chevières, by means of two bridges, under the fire of the castle of Grandprey, and all the batteries of the camp. Mortaume, which protected the left, is situate on a height that overlooks the plain and almost joins the forest.

"In order to force this camp, it would be first necessary to attack and carry all the posts of the advanced guard, and afterwards to cross the Aire. The enemy would then find themselves within a basin surrounded by fire, proceeding as well from the heights of Marque and the castle of Grandprey, as from the front of the camp. The French could not be forced without the loss of fifteen or twenty thousand men; they might then resume another formidable position behind the Aire, on the heights of Autry. This camp may be considered as impregnable, more especially when defended by a numerous and excellent park of French artillery."

death of Beaurepaire, who scorned to survive the cowardice and treason which he could neither anticipate nor prevent. These circumstances, instead of discouraging the troops, served only to excite their rage. They now considered their own fidelity as the sole resource of their country; they were penetrated with the justice of the cause which they were called upon to maintain; they found themselves in possession of a strong post, to which they had been conducted by means of a masterly manœuvre; and they began to respect a leader, of whose zeal and talents they were the daily witnesses.

The general himself, with his usual confidence, transmitted the following letter to Servan, minister of the war department, in which he affected a laconic style, joined to a republican audacity, on purpose to keep alive the zeal of the Parisians:

"Verdun is taken, and I expect the Prussians. The camps of Grandprey and Islettes have become the Thermopylæ of France: I shall prove more fortunate than Leonidas."

In another, intended for his private perusal, he particularised the advantages of his position, and enumerated all his wants: he also communicated the orders transmitted to Beurnonville and Duval, to form a junction with him; recapitulated his instructions to Labourdonnaye respecting the defence of the northern department, and to Moreton and Malus for hastening the preparations for offensive measures against the Austrian Low-countries. In the mean time, he requested succours from Flanders, reinforcements from the interior, detachments from the army of the Rhine, which had nothing to fear, and assistance from Luckner, who might either attack the invaders both in flank and rear, or form a junction between the two armies, which would produce a grand effect.

Nor did he omit to state his conjectures relative to the conduct of the Prussians after the surrender of Verdun. As the season was far advanced, and the weather rainy and unfavourable, he foresaw that they would choose to advance directly to Paris, rather than consume the remainder of the

campaign in sieges, As a proof of this, he remarked that they had neglected to seize on Montmedy, which they had left in their rear, although by this omission their communication with Luxembourg, whence they must draw their supplies, would be cut off in consequence of the activity of general Ligneville and his garrison, an event that actually occurred.

As there was now no strong place remaining between the enemy and Paris by the road leading from Chalons, he imagined that the exaggerated hopes of the emigrants, joined to the intreaties of the French princes who accompanied him, might induce the Prussian monarch to select this as the readiest and least difficult route, and, after beating the army encamped in the forest of Argonne, he would be taught to believe that he could arrive in the capital, after seven or eight marches, without experiencing the least opposition.

The combined troops had as yet been uniformly fortunate. Two garrisons had capitulated in the most shameful manner; several other towns appeared ready to open their gates to them; and their camps were crowded, not only with disaffected persons, but also with many who wavered between the two parties, and were desirous, by recurring to a temporising policy, to have it in their power to declare in favour of the victor. Some trifling events, however, served to intimate that they were not always to expect cowardice, disaffection, or treason; and it is not a little remarkable, that the first checks received by the army of the coalition proceeded from two foreigners. It has been already stated in what manner a Pole drove in the outposts of the Austrian army, and forced the brave but cautious Clairfait to retreat to the intrenched camp of Brouenne. The next exploit was performed by a native of the *Pays de Vaud*, a country always treated with peculiar cruelty and injustice by the canton of Berne. Laharpe*, one of its most illustrious defenders, driven into

* Amadeus Laharp, lord of Utins, born in 1754, in the castle of the same name, served both in Holland and France until recalled a little before the death of his father, under the name of the baron de Yens, another lordship appertaining to his family.

exile, because he had endeavoured to loosen the chains of his countrymen, took refuge in the French camp, where he was welcomed as the martyr of liberty. Appointed chief of a battalion of volunteers†, he was stationed at the castle of Rodemark, and exposed to the first onset of the invaders. Shocked at the general defection, he determined to give an example of devotion to the nation which had adopted him, and was lucky enough to communicate to the troops under him the enthusiasm with which he himself was actuated. Well knowing that their little post was not tenable, they entered into a solemn engagement not to capitulate, but either to open a passage through the enemy with their bayonets, or bury themselves under the ruins of the castle, the vaults of which they had converted into mines for that purpose. Having received orders however from his commanding officer to evacuate this position in consequence of the approach of the enemy, who were already masters of all the surrounding posts, the Swiss colonel sallied forth at the head of his garrison, and transported the artillery and stores to Thionville, in the face of a superior force. This daring feat, calculated to inspire the troops with valour, and prove that the foe was not invincible, procured for him who achieved it the appellation of "the brave Laharpe," with which he was afterwards honoured at the head of the French army.

In the mean time Dumouriez was exceedingly anxious that general Kellermann, who had now assumed the command of the army of the Mosselle, should approach nearer and effect a junction. Nor did he neglect the necessary dispositions for resisting the enemy, in which he was seconded by the ardour and patriotism of his troops. He ordered the inhabitants to cut down the trees on the skirts of the forest, then to inter the roots, and, pointing the branches in a horizontal position, thus form them into *abatis*; he commanded them also, on hearing the alarm bell, to fly to arms and oppose the enemy: he established a chain of posts to keep up the communication with Dillon, the second in command, by

† The 4th battalion of Seine and Oise.

Marque, Châtel, and Appremont, to Chalade and Islettes. He enjoined that general to dispatch a body of light infantry, and several squadrons of chasseurs and hussars, to consume the forage on the borders of the Aire, to protect the Barrois, and prevent the combined forces from making incursions, or harassing his flank. In addition to these measures of precaution and security, he made use of others to strengthen his system of defence. He ordered the officer stationed at Croix-au-bois to fortify that post by means of trees and intrenchments, and to break up the road leading to it: he was at first obliged to line the opening of Chêne-populeux with a few troops only, but the appearance of general Duval, on the day appointed, relieved him from all fears relative to that important pass.

He also draughted troops from the garrisons of Givet, Philippeville, Marienbourg, and Rocroy, on purpose to reinforce the garrison of Sedan; he sent Miaczinski forward with a detachment of horse to keep up the communication with Montmedy, and assist Ligneville, the commandant, in intercepting the convoys from Longwy and Luxembourg.

Having thus taken the necessary means to prevent the possibility of a surprise, he did not despair of being able to resist the utmost efforts of the numerous and formidable army about to oppose him. If the Prussians should attack the camp of Grandprey, or endeavour to force a passage at Islettes, which were his strong points, he had some reason to hope that he would be able to repulse them; on the other hand, if they inclined to adopt a less hazardous plan, and proceeding along the forest to the left, attempted to penetrate through the Barrois by Vitry, he was certain of anticipating them at the opening of Revigny, and of being joined there by the army of the Moselle, after which, with a mass of nearly sixty thousand men, including the detachments from the northern department, he could cover and protect the Barrois and the Marne. But should they endeavour to enter by Chêne-populeux, after having contended that passage with them, he hoped to be able to arrest their progress on the borders of the Aisne, where, being reinforced by Beurnonville's division and the army under Kellermann, he

would dispute the passage of the river, and reduce them to such a state of despair as to perish by hunger in the quagmires of Tierrache, whence they would never be able to extricate their baggage and artillery*.

The enemy, the quickness of whose motions could alone insure success, spent nearly seven days in complete inactivity after the capture of Verdun. On the eighth the vanguard of the Prussian army was at length discovered, and the main body began to occupy the extensive plain, and display its front from Briquenay to Clermont: its head-quarters were established at Raucourt. On the succeeding day the Prussians commenced a series of attacks on the outposts of the French army, which, instead of being intimidated, expressed much joy at the appearance of the foe, and repulsed them at all points.

A celebrated foreigner, who arrived that very evening, distinguished himself in the course of the next forenoon. This was Miranda, who after forming the daring project of achieving a revolution in New Spain, of which he was a native, and refusing the most brilliant offers on the part of the Empress of Russia, had repaired to Paris, and tendered his services to the patriots. Being posted with a detachment at Mortaume, he conducted himself with great gallantry, and withstood a brisk assault on that village, which he had been ordered to occupy. General Stengel, born in the dominions of the Elector-Palatine, also acquired credit by his defence of St. Jouvin, and the enemy were repelled on all sides, without having been able to make the least impression.

Dumouriez, ever active and full of resources, contributed not a little to the general success, by dispatching troops and artillery towards the points likely to be assailed, without being discovered by his adversaries, as his operations were concealed by the mountain of Bessieu: in consequence of this the Prussians always perceived themselves opposed by a body of five or six thousand men, supported by twelve-pound-

* Mém. de Dumouriez, t. III.

ers ; and, as they themselves could not display a more extensive front, and possessed battalion-guns only, they of course fought to a disadvantage, and imagined that they were deceived by their spies, who concurred in asserting that the French army did not exceed twenty thousand men.

But although the formidable position assumed by him possessed many advantages, his troops were exposed to a slight diarrhœa, on account of the bad quality of the water: they were also frequently destitute of provisions, as the means for obtaining a regular supply had not been yet settled ; but the soldiery supported this deprivation with unusual gaiety, and the daily skirmishes that occurred, by diverting their attention, prevented that languor and listlessness which in a crowded camp is always the forerunner of malignant disorders. It was otherwise however with the principal officers, the greater part of whom, from the nature of this petty warfare, remained in a state of inactivity, and already began to consider their situation as desperate ; they were also deprived of all the luxuries of the table, being obliged to live on brown bread, wretched beer, and sorry wine, a circumstance that contributed not a little to their chagrin.

Five generals having determined to remonstrate with their commander, called upon, and stated to him, "that he had great merit in having conducted the army to a camp almost impregnable, but that the position was unhealthy ; disease and disgust were beginning to prey upon the troops, and no succours had as yet arrived. In the mean time there were one hundred thousand men in sight, who were already masters of the plain, and might at any time reach Vitry, and even Châlons, by marching through Bar-le-duc: that it was therefore of the utmost importance to anticipate them, and choose a good camp behind the Marne, where the French army might strengthen itself by means of reinforcements, and procure provisions in abundance." This advice was instantly rejected by Dumouriez, whose firmness was also put to a still severer trial in consequence of the solicitations, and even orders, of the commander in chief and the minister at war, to retreat behind the Marne, where he was to have been

joined by Kellermann, who proposed, in that case, to give battle to the Prussians.

At length the grand army seemed determined to put an end to the awful suspence in which Europe had been for some time kept. The king of Prussia in person now began to menace the camp of Grandprey, while the prince of Hohenlohe appeared before Islettes, and general Clairfait presented himself at the pass of Croix-aux-bois. But a variety of circumstances seemed to combine, in order to render these tardy attacks inefficacious. At this critical period the rainy season had set in; the roads were extremely bad, and famine and disease already made their appearance among the invaders. Having consumed all the provisions found in Longwy and Verdun, and being unable to draw further supplies from a country previously exhausted by the French army, the duke of Brunswick was obliged to have recourse to Luxemburg and the electorate of Treves, which exposed his convoys to the attacks of the garrisons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and Metz. In addition to this, a body of French troops under general Custine had already penetrated into Germany, and was supposed to have meditated the capture of Coblentz, which would have enabled him to attack the enemy in flank and rear, and rendered a retrogade movement, in case of any disaster, extremely hazardous.

In front of the combined forces at this moment appeared only a small army; but it was posted on a height, provided with an immense quantity of artillery, and commanded by Dumouriez, an active and resolute general. Another, under Kellermann, was ready either to form a junction with, or facilitate its retreat: immense bodies of troops were collecting in the interior; the people had hitherto received the foreign mercenaries not as deliverers but as enemies; and the fairy dreams of triumph began already to be dissipated.

Such was the melancholy situation of the invading army, when an unpardonable omission on the part of the French general revived its hopes, and reduced his own country to the very brink of despair.

Although Dumouriez was well acquainted with the importance of the various passes leading through the forest of

Argonne, and by a bold and decisive movement had rendered himself master of them; yet, in consequence of an oversight, equally gross and obvious, he had neglected the defence of one of the most important. Instead of stationing an experienced officer at the post of Croix-aux-bois, he had committed it to the care of a colonel of dragoons, who, by the nature of the service to which he had been accustomed, was unqualified for a situation where a veteran officer of infantry alone could have been useful. He had also neglected the professional assistance which might have been derived from the corps of artillery or engineers; and, notwithstanding he possessed a park well stored with cannon, this important avenue into the heart of France was not guarded by a single eight or twelve pounder. In short, the defence was entrusted to a regiment of cavalry, who were unable to act with any effect, and three battalions of infantry, one of which was totally destitute of arms. In consequence of the colonel's report, in which he stated that his entrenchments and *abatis* were impregnable, the commander in chief, relying implicitly on his judgment, and being thus lulled into a false security, permitted him to return to camp, and entrusted the defence of *Croix-aux-bois* to one hundred infantry, sixty horsemen belonging to the *gendarmerie nationale*, in quarters at Vouzieres, and the battalion of Ardennes, which he ordered in the mean time to be supplied with muskets. On the next day the officer of dragoons evacuated the entrenchments before he had been relieved, and the colonel of the battalion of Ardennes waited for the arms at Vouzieres, which were not sent in conformity to orders.

No sooner was the wary and intrepid Clairfait made acquainted with these mistakes by means of his spies, consisting of the country people, the greater part of whom were the vassals of the expatriated nobles, than he resolved instantly to take advantage of them, and accordingly dispatched prince Charles de Ligne by break of day to attack the entrenchments. As the trees had been newly felled and thrown across the road without either order or connexion, and the ends were neither buried in the earth, nor the branches cut in such a manner as to present their sharp points to the

enemy, as is customary in all operations of this kind, the Imperialists found but little difficulty in removing them and clearing the passage. The roads too were broken up in such a slovenly and irregular manner that they were soon enabled to advance with both cavalry and artillery, while the hundred men posted there, abandoning their position which had become untenable in consequence of the immense superiority of the assailants, fled across the woods, and arriving by noon at the camp of Grandprey, brought consternation and dismay along with them.

Dumouriez, who happened luckily to be there, was instantly aware of the critical situation in which he was now placed in consequence of his own palpable negligence. He accordingly took the most speedy and efficacious measures to remedy the mischief, and for this purpose dispatched general Chazot with two brigades, six squadrons of horse, and four eight-pounders, besides the battalion pieces. He was instructed to march with the utmost expedition, and commence an immediate attack with fixed bayonets, to prevent the enemy from throwing up new works. But the whole of that afternoon and the next day were suffered to elapse without any thing decisive being effected, although the commander in chief had reinforced the general with two battalions, and dispatched *aides-de-camp* almost every hour enjoining him not to defer the attack for a single moment. At length, on the succeeding morning, Dumouriez was relieved from his uneasiness, having received a note from Chazot, stating, "that after a very long and very bloody conflict, in which the prince de Ligne was killed, he had retaken the entrenchments." But in consequence of neglecting to issue orders for the advance of the working tools, with which the defile was to have been rendered impracticable, or even to post a body of infantry and some cannon at the opening, a fresh and more numerous column of Austrians commenced a new attack two hours after, gained the adjoining heights, took some artillery, and forced Chazot, who made but a feeble resistance, to retreat, without being able to transmit the intelligence of this disastrous event to head-quarters.

During these skirmishes at Croix-aux-bois, the enemy had several times attacked the outposts of the camp at Grand-prey, but without success. They were more fortunate however at Chêne-populeux; for, although a body of emigrants who had presented themselves there were driven back by the French, yet no sooner did general Dubouquet learn that the other road had been forced, than he took advantage of the approaching night to retire by Attigny and Somme-puis, towards Châlons, to prevent his whole detachment from being cut off.

It was not until five o'clock in the evening that the commander in chief received intelligence of the retreat from Croix-aux-bois from some of the fugitives; all the fatal consequences likely to ensue in consequence of this event were immediately anticipated by him, and he could depend on the vigour and resources of his own mind alone to extricate himself and his army from their present perilous situation. The number of his troops was now reduced to fifteen thousand men: before him was an army of forty thousand Prussians; in his rear were twenty thousand Austrians; and a body of enraged emigrants had already penetrated into the forest, and was advancing on his flank. He was thus liable to be assailed in front by the duke of Brunswick, while general Clairfait, by occupying the position of Croix-aux-bois, actually commanded his camp, and by inclining to the left might descend towards Olizy, Termes, and Beauregard, and thus cut off the passage of the Aire and the Aisne, at Senucque*. In case of that event, he would have been inclosed with his army between the rivers and the forest, and being destitute of provisions and ammunition, and opposed by an enemy posted on the eminences, he must have either laid down his arms, or held out without the least prospect of relief.

His communication was now interrupted with Beurnonville, who had arrived at Rhêtel with nine thousand men destitute of shoes, harassed by fatigue, and unprovided with

* Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, t. II.

ammunition; while Kellermann, on hearing that two of the passes were carried, would either retreat towards Metz or cross the Marne. He was also reduced to the necessity of decamping in the presence of the enemy, and encountering a thousand unforeseen difficulties; but, notwithstanding the imminence of his danger, the French general exhibited great presence of mind, and never betrayed the least symptom of fear relative to his perilous situation. On the contrary, he mounted on horseback, exhibited himself with confidence to the troops, and, after calling in all his detachments, dispatched orders to Buernonville to set off instantly from Rhêtel, and following the course of the Aisne as far as Attigny, to march towards St. Menehould, with a view of effecting a junction there; he also instructed Kellermann to hasten by Bar and Revigny for the same purpose.

At the same time he laid his injunctions on general Dillon to defend the passes of Islettes and Chalade with the utmost obstinacy, and to push forward his light troops beyond Passavant, with intent to harass the enemy's left flank. That he might insure his own retreat, he posted six battalions and as many squadrons on the heights of Olizy, Termes, and Beauregard, with a few cannon, so as to face Croix-aux-bois, arrest the progress of the Austrians, and prevent them from descending towards Senucque; while three hundred chasseurs were employed in scouring the forest on the side of Longueve. He also ordered the park of artillery to file off immediately across the two bridges, with an intent of gaining the heights of Autry, on the other side of the Aisne, where it would be removed from danger.

About seven that evening he learned that Chazot* had retreated to Vouzieres, and that his own situation was not so critical as he had supposed. Content with obtaining possession of the important passage of Croix-aux-bois, and ex-

* General Chazot was denounced by Marat and Pons de Verdun, on account of his conduct upon this occasion. He was also summoned to the bar of the Convention, April 7, 1793, and imprisoned by its orders; but he found means to make his innocence evident, and was released soon after.

pecting perhaps to be attacked again on the next day, the enemy had not pushed forward according to his expectation: he was therefore still master of the whole course of the Aisne; and, although his rear-guard might be attacked, he hoped to be able to dispute the passage of that river, and gain a commanding eminence on its further bank.

While incessantly occupied with preparations for securing his retreat, an *aide-de-camp* arrived from the prince de Hohenlohe*, requesting an interview. This embarrassing circumstance was turned to advantage by Dumouriez, who took care on this occasion to remove many of the prejudices entertained on the part of the enemy. He accordingly selected major-general Duval, who had served during the seven-years' war in the legion of Soubise, and was rendered respectable by his grey hairs and majestic figure, to meet the Prussian officer at the time and place appointed: the latter was unable to conceal his surprise at seeing so much order and regularity observed at the outposts, and so many well-bred officers adorned with ribbands and crosses; for the emigrants had represented the army as commanded by taylors, shoemakers, and obscure tradesmen. It also added not a little to his astonishment to hear that most of the generals had served during one or two wars, and that Dumouriez himself was a major-general before the revolution. By way of concealing the intended retreat, it was at the same time intimated to him, in pursuance of one of those maxims by which untruth is admitted among the legitimate stratagems of modern warfare, that Beurnonville was to enter the camp in the

* It may be necessary to remark that this officer, usually styled the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, was a general in the service of Prussia, and commanded a division of the grand army; he was also a great favourite of the monarch, whom he accompanied to the congress of Pilnitz, in 1791. The princes of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg and Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen are frequently confounded with him; but they are both in the service of Austria: the former is a general of artillery, and distinguished himself against the Turks in 1789; the latter is also a general officer, and acquired great credit in the army of the Rhine during the campaign of 1796.

course of the next day with a reinforcement of eighteen thousand men, while Kellermann, at the head of twenty thousand more, was only two marches distant.

On that very evening however, the moment it became dark, the French advanced-guard, in pursuance to orders, fell back in three columns, without either augmenting or diminishing the number of its fires; the right retreating through Marque, the centre by Chevieres, and the left by Grandprey. Duval and Stengel, the commanding officers, as soon as they had crossed, ordered all the bridges in the rear to be broken down, and then halted until the army, to which they were to act as a rear-guard, had commenced its march. It was not until midnight that the commander in chief left his head-quarters at the castle of Grandprey, and ascended to the camp, which he still found standing: the roads were so bad, and the night so cloudy, that his orderly-men were missing; but he issued verbal instructions for the tents to be instantly struck. The main body however was not in motion until three hours after; a circumstance which proved advantageous, for the troops perceiving nothing that indicated either haste or alarm, and being entirely ignorant of the cause of their retreat, conducted themselves with great regularity.

At length the army commenced its march, and proceeded without any interruption on the part of the enemy, over the bridges and through the defiles, according to the route fixed upon. On arriving at the heights of Autry the general drew up his troops in order of battle, to protect the rear-guard, which did not pass the bridges of Senucque and Grandchamp until eight in the morning, and then formed a similar disposition on the high ground. A detachment of Prussian hussars, supported by three or four pieces of horse artillery, had attempted to harass this body without effect: but they proved more fortunate against the troops from Vouzieres, under general Chazot; for having made a charge, the latter instantly betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the light troops. Some of the fugitives fled as far as Rheims and Châlons, and the panic might have become general had not Duval obliged the Prussians to fall back, and taken a couple

of their cannon and some baggage, while Miranda, with his usual presence of mind, immediately rallied the army.

In the mean time the general, who now deemed his retreat secure, had ordered the park of artillery to continue its march, while he himself repaired to Dammartin, four leagues distance from Grandprey, where they were to halt at the end of that day's march. While employed in tracing out his camp, several fugitives arrived and announced to him, "that all was lost, the army being in confusion, and the enemy in full pursuit." On his return however he met general Miranda, who had displayed equal coolness and intrepidity upon this occasion, by preventing the flight of the infantry, and at the same time arresting the progress of the enemy; he also received favourable intelligence from the generals Duval and Stengel, whom he ordered to halt with the rear-guard on the borders of the morass of Cernay, until the whole army had crossed the Tourbe: they were then to advance along the banks of that river, take post between the main body and the enemy, and pass the evening there. Having returned to Dammartin, and ordered the troops to remain all night under arms, the general, who had been twenty hours on horseback, alighted, and sat down to table at six o'clock, with a view of taking some refreshment: but he was disturbed by a new alarm, which had taken place in his camp, in consequence of the arts of some disaffected persons. Although the rear-guard remained undisturbed at a league distance, the appearance of the enemy was every where announced; the artillery which was harnessed, endeavoured to gain a height on the other side of a rivulet, called the Bionne; all the troops were mingled together in the confusion, and a general and immediate flight appeared to be inevitable. Dumouriez having remounted his horse, instantly repaired to the spot accompanied by the officers of his staff, his *aides-de-camp*, and his escort of dragoons, who at length succeeded in rallying the fugitives by means of blows.

Having thus prevented a complete route, he ordered fires to be lighted, and commanded the soldiers to pass the night in the position then occupied by them. At break of day order was restored among the dispersed soldiery, after which

the tents were struck; the army continued its march in three columns, and arrived without any accident at the camp of St. Menehould; for the enemy had not taken advantage of the confusion that ensued, but advanced with caution, and did not appear in sight of the French until the next day. Being no longer under any apprehensions, the commander in chief immediately communicated his situation to the president of the national assembly, in a letter written with Spartan brevity, and calculated to inspire confidence:

"I HAVE been obliged to abandon the camp of Grandprey; the retreat was completed when a panic terror seized on the army: ten thousand troops fled before fifteen hundred Prussians. The loss does not amount to more then fifty men, and some baggage: order is again restored, and I am ready to answer for the consequences.—DUMOURIEZ."

IN the mean time it was determined by the allies to lay siege to Thionville. In conformity to the original plan of the campaign, that place ought to have been attacked at an earlier period; but such was the defective state of the park of artillery belonging to the grand army, that a sufficient number of heavy cannon could not be found to open the trenches. On this, application was immediately made for assistance to Luxembourg; and it was not doubted that the arsenals of an ally would readily furnish whatever might be necessary for the service of the common cause: but the governor declined to comply until he should receive instructions from the court of Vienna. This delay had obliged the duke of Brunswick to leave that important fortress in his rear, marred all his plans, and was productive of a variety of untoward consequences. The convoys of provisions were from that moment continually exposed to be cut off, the jealousies between the Austrians and Prussians were renewed, and by the withdrawing of the troops destined to cover the Palatinate soon after, with a view of converting the blockade into a regular siege, Germany was left open to the victorious incursions of the French.

THIS important fortress was now invested by the Austrians and emigrants, under the command of the princes of Hohenlohe and Condé; and but little doubt was entertained, that

the garrison would follow the example of Longwy and Verdun. General Felix de Wimpffen, a native of Alsace, and a colonel of dragoons under the old government, happened to be entrusted with the command of the place; and as he was a noble by birth (for he had represented that order in the states-general), it was supposed that he might be easily seduced; every art was accordingly recurred to for that purpose*. He is said indeed to have been secretly attached to the cause of the exiles; but whether instigated by the point of honour, or actuated by a sense of duty, or overawed by the fidelity of the troops, or terrified by the fate of la Fayette; certain it is, that on the present occasion he refused to capitulate, and contributed not a little by his spirited resistance to the catastrophe that ensued.

This place, like all the other frontier towns, was unprovided with the means of effecting a vigorous resistance, and did not contain a sufficient quantity of provisions to enable the garrison to sustain a long siege. The enemy, on the other hand, was but ill prepared to reduce so formidable a fortress, for M. d'Autichamp, who superintended the attack, was not in possession of any battering cannon.

---

* It was confidently asserted by many at the time, and has not been belied by subsequent events, that Wimpffen had resolved to deliver up Thionville to the French princes, and only persevered in defending it in consequence of the indiscreet manner in which it was attacked as the outworks were untouched, and no plausible pretext allowed for the surrender. Among the various persons who accused the general of treachery on the present occasion, was a Jew belonging to the department of the Moselle; he asserted at the bar of the convention, February 17, 1793, that he himself had been actually sent by the governor of Thionville to the general of the besieging army on purpose to state, "that it was now too late to obtain possession of the fortress." But the representatives of the nation did not deem it prudent to pay any attention to the numerous denunciations against Wimpffen; on the contrary, a vote passed, declaring, "that he had deserved well of his country."

In 1793, general W. affected to enter into the resentments of the girondists, then proscribed by the faction of the mountain, and even to head an army in their defence; but he was at length suspected of treachery, and must be allowed at all events to have achieved nothing worthy of his former reputation.

Not content with merely remaining on the defensive, Wimpffen immediately evinced a degree of activity that proved highly disastrous to his opponents. Being afraid lest he should be starved into a surrender, he determined to cut off the resources of the enemy, and thus force them to abandon the idea of a blockade. He accordingly made a sally at the head of four hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry; and with this small detachment destroyed a large quantity of forage in front of the camp at Richemont, by means of a stratagem; for by dividing his party into six separate bodies, and concealing the depth of his columns, he deceived the besiegers in respect to his numbers, and amidst the general confusion carried off their magazine, with one hundred and thirty-three waggons, which had been mistaken by them for a train of artillery*. He was also fortunate enough to cut off a convoy in the course of the same evening; and four days after he seized upon and destroyed a large quantity of provisions at Gavisse, destined for the supply of fifteen thousand men.

CHAP. VII.

Kellerman and Beurnonville effect a Junction with Dumouriez—Approach of the Combined Army—Skirmish at Valmy—Consequences resulting from this indecisive Action.

THE negligence of Dumouriez had occasioned the retreat of an army on which the safety of France depended; but his subsequent prudence, activity, and good fortune, repaired his errors, and he now once more occupied a formidable position. St. Menehould, only one hundred and ten miles distant from Paris, and twenty-five from Châlons, is rendered strong by the hand of nature. In front are high

* Mém. Révolutionnaire, t. I. p. 97.

grounds, consisting of a barren clay, which occupy the space formed by the Tourbe, Bionne, and Auve. The site of the encampment, about three quarters of a league in extent, not only commands these elevations, but also the valley below; it resembles in form the letter S, the right flank terminating at the river Aisne, a little above Neuville-au-pont, and the left at the great road leading to Châlons; the village of Chaude-fontaine assumes a central position in the rear. In a hollow, situate exactly in front, are the hamlet and castle of Braux St. Cohère, where the ponds and morasses begin, which separate the left of the camp from the hill of Valmy, rendered conspicuous by its wind-mill. The heights of Gizacourt are near to the great road, and behind is a morass and some branches of the Auve, at the extremity of which is a position well calculated for a small camp, with the village of Dampierre in front, and that of Elise in the rear.

The general established his head-quarters at St. Menehould, the chief place in the district of Argonne, and one of the principal towns in Champagne; it was a league from his camp, and exactly facing the centre of the grand army. Resolving to add all the advantages resulting from art to those derived from nature, he erected batteries in his front so as to command the valley, by enfilading it on every side. He stationed his vanguard along the Tourbe, with orders to retard the enemy's march by every possible means, and to retire slowly and in good order, taking care to cut down all the bridges in the rear; after this, the troops were to take post behind the Bionne. Injunctions were at the same time issued to lay waste the country around, and to forage in all the adjacent villages, so that nothing might remain for the enemy's cavalry. Dillon was still left to defend the defiles of Islettes and Chalade, while, by way of strengthening his right flank, a battalion of troops of the line was stationed in the castle of St. Thomas, situate on a steep and commanding eminence.

Having thus carefully fortified his position, and endeavoured to inspire the troops with confidence not only in him but in themselves, Dumouriez assembled the army, and attempted to gain the soldiery by soothing rather than reproaching

them. He determined at the same time to banish cowardice and disaffection, by means of shame, and accordingly recurred to the following expedient. Having ordered twenty-eight of the fugitives who had been arrested by Dillon, and sent prisoners to him, to be brought to the front of his camp, he commanded the hair of their heads and eye-brows to be shaved, after which their uniforms which they had disgraced were taken from them, and being thus branded with ignominy, they were dismissed amidst the hootings and revilings of their companions.

It now became necessary to effect the junction so much desired by the general, whose army was not sufficient to check the progress of the Prussians, although hunger and disease began already to make great havock in their camp. Beurnonville, misled by the accounts of the fugitives, had at first retreated to Châlons, but he at length arrived very opportunely with a body of troops, who were happy at the idea of rejoining and serving once more under their old commander, at the camp of Maulde; had he remained but twenty-four hours later, all communication with Dumouriez would have been cut off. Intelligence was also received in the course of the same day, that Kellermann, after leaving a detachment of five thousand men to cover Bar and Ligny, was only two leagues distant with fifteen thousand men, one third of which consisted of excellent cavalry, being chiefly composed of regiments of the line.

On receiving this joyful news, Dumouriez instantly dispatched instructions to his colleague, to continue his march and occupy the camp between the villages of Dampierre and Elise, behind the Auve, in the course of the next morning; and as he began to suppose from the extension of the enemy's line that they meant to try the fate of an action, he pointed out the heights of Valmy and Gizancourt, as a proper station for his field of battle; but having neglected to repair thither in person, or even to send an engineer to mark out the ground, the former mistook his field of battle for his camp, and much confusion ensued in consequence of this event.

In the mean time the duke of Brunswick's operations had been greatly retarded, by the difficulties incident to the sub-

sistence of so great an army in an enemy's country. His ovens were at Verdun, and much time was consumed in bringing bread to the camp: in proportion as the season became wet, obstacles of all kinds would of course multiply; and it at length appeared hazardous to advance a single march further from the magazines, for fear of being entirely deprived of their benefit. The commander in chief, therefore, was fettered in respect to his future progress, as he dared not to lose sight of his communications for a moment, but he had it still in his power to compel the enemy to make such movements in his presence as would afford him an opportunity of attacking them to advantage.

The combined army was now in full march against the foe. Having entered Grandprey, it filed off next day by Vouzieres and Autry, as far as Cernay; and at the very moment the reinforcements had arrived in the French camp, it appeared in sight. As the king of Prussia was extremely desirous to discover the exact position of the enemy, he had already reconnoitred the camp of St. Menehould from a rising ground not far from Ville-sur-Tourbe, and on perceiving the confusion that had taken place on the hill of Valmy, in consequence of the mistake already alluded to, it was concluded, that in consequence of orders from Paris Dumouriez had commenced his retreat.

This opinion, in addition to intelligence of a similar nature, induced his majesty to resume his march, and the army accordingly advanced to Somme-Tourbe, while the reserve under the orders of the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe took a position between Somme-Tourbe and Somme-Bienne; both passed the night under arms, and it was fully expected that the French would be intercepted before they reached Châlons.

On the succeeding morning, at break of day, some of the allied troops appeared on an eminence, while the French carabineers were discovered to have formed behind La Lune; and an opinion still prevailed in the invading army, that the enemy had been stopped in their retreat. This circumstance prevented the heights of Gizancourt from being occupied at first, and the delusion was rendered still more

complete by the situation of Kellermann's detachment, which was hid by the intervening eminences.

At length it became evident that the French, instead of betaking themselves to flight, now occupied a strong intrenched camp, supported by an immense park of artillery, and were prepared to give battle. As Dumouriez appeared to have assumed a masked position, with a view of concealing the number and situation of his troops, orders were instantly issued to obtain possession of the heights of Gizancourt. Several columns were accordingly put in motion; and the artillery was sent forward. On ths Kellermann brought up the whole of his cannon to a commanding eminence, on the hill of Valmy, and by means of a well-directed fire, arrested the progress of the combined army.

Nor was Dumouriez deficient in point of skill and exertion; for perceiving that his colleague could not extend his line along the high ground of Gizancourt, because he was already out-flanked on his left, the former took advantage of a pause on the part of the enemy, to dispatch general Chazot with nine battalions of infantry, and eight squadrons of cavalry, by the great road leading to Châlons, with orders to get behind the heights of Gizancourt, to flank the position of Valmy, and support Kellermann; he at the same time commanded Stengel to march to the extremity of the Hyron, and take the enemy on the other flank. Beurnonville was also dispatched with a column consisting of sixteen battalions to support Stengel, while Leveneur with twelve more received directions to turn the left of the enemy.

In the mean time the king of Prussia had established a battery on the heights of Gizancourt, which commanded the position at Valmy; but as Stengel now out-flanked the enemy, and had opened a sharp fire on the left of the attack, the assailants received a check, and were not only prevented from storming Valmy, but perhaps from also beating, surrounding, and cutting off the detachment under Kellermann; for as his troops were incumbered, and the great road leading to St. Menehould choked up, with the baggage, a retreat would have become extremely difficult.

At the close of day the artillery ceased to fire, and the troops detached by Dumouriez retired; those commanded by Kellermann remained under arms, on purpose to withdraw to the station originally intended for them, while the Prussians not only retained the heights of La Lune and Gizancourt, but completely blocked up all intercourse with Châlons, and occupied a position between the enemy and the capital.

Thus ended the skirmish of Valmy, during which only three or four hundred men were killed, although the rival armies fired more than forty thousand cannon-shot. The combined forces on this occasion, by means of a masterly evolution, had contrived to cut off all direct communication between Dumouriez and his magazines; but they completely failed in the main object of the contest, as the French were neither beaten nor intimidated. On the contrary, they in the end derived from this contest all the advantages that could have been expected from a signal victory.

Their troops, although inferior in point of number, had stood the shock and checked the progress of the invaders. The national guards, contrary to expectation, conducted themselves with as much bravery as the soldiers of the line; the division under general Lynch in particular, sustained the action with all the firmness of veterans; while the carabineers and grenadiers commanded by Valence displayed equal bravery and coolness. Those Frenchmen who expected to have seen the hero of the league delivering up Paris to the plunder of his soldiers, could scarcely give credit to the intrepidity of their countrymen; while the courts of Europe would not at first believe that a simple hussar*, and an obscure captain of cavalry, should have been able to foil commanders who had studied the art of war in the school of the immortal Frederick.

General Clairfayt, who did not arrive until the morning after the engagement, assumed a position near Val-

* Kellermann was originally a private in the legion of Conflans; he was afterwards promoted, and become a field officer in the Colonel-General hussars.

my, having on his left wing the Prussian camp of Hans, and on his right the advanced guard, now stationed on the road leading to and within four leagues of Châlons. The prince of Hohenlohe occupied the heights of Gizancourt, and the post of La Lune, while the emigrants were placed in the rear. On the other hand, the French under Dumouriez still retained their original camp, with the right inclining to Islettes, and the left strengthened by a strong redoubt, provided with eighteen pieces of cannon of large dimensions; Kellermann's troops were posted to the left, and in part covered by the Auve and inundations.

The late action, since dignified with the appellation of the *attle of Valmy*, completely dissipated the illusions of Frederick-William II. who, after seeing the hopes of the emigrants in some measure realised by the surrender of Longwy and Verdun, is said to have expected either the immediate flight or desertion of the French forces*; but their intrepidity and patriotism not only disappointed his hopes, but gave a new turn to the war. The veteran troops, who had neglected on the preceding day to carry the heights of Valmy by the bayonet, might still indeed have marched straight to Châlons, which was only a few leagues distant; but the enemy, whose supposed disadvantages were now fully counterbalanced by a decided superiority in respect to artillery, as well as by recent events, would have cut off all communication with Verdun.

The king of Prussia acordingly began to reflect seriously on the critical situation to which he was reduced. He had fully acquitted himself of his engagement to enter France. None of the armies appeared in the least disposed to join him, and not a single department, or even district, had declared in favour of the ancient monarchy. He himself had already expended immense sums, and hazarded the existence of an army on which the security of his own dominions depended, in behalf of the common cause. He had also neglected the opinion of the commander in chief, who insist-

* Tableau Historique & Polit. t. II. p. 283.

ed soon after the commencement of the campaign, that, in consequence of the changes which had occurred in Paris, it was become absolutely necessary to give a systematic direction to the operations of the combined armies: for as the French monarch had been dethroned, and his party dissipated, all hopes of effecting a sudden revolution were completely annihilated. In addition to this, the fervour of his own zeal had induced him to neglect many necessary precautions; several fortresses had been left in his rear; many of his convoys had been cut off, and not only famine but disease already prevailed in his camp.

CHAP. VIII.

Conduct of Dumouriez—France is declared a Republic—Arrival of the Deputies in the French Camp—The Soldiers take the new Oath.

WHILE the combined army was encamped within sight, fifty thousand French maintained the formidable position of St. Menehould, and were in daily expectation of receiving fresh succours; for general d'Harville was assembling troops at Rheims, and general Sparre at Châlons. Paris, Soissons, Epernai, Troyes, and Vitry, were also pouring forth swarms of volunteers, unacquainted indeed with discipline, and impatient of restraint, but zealous to shed their blood for their country, and acquire liberty and glory for themselves. On the other hand, the forces of the allied courts, which had been deceived as to the opposition they were likely to experience, became dispirited and dejected. They found themselves entangled amidst the fastnesses of a sterile province, destitute of water, forage, and provisions, with a resolute enemy in front, fresh levies pouring in from all quarters, and their own resources diminishing daily. The garrisons of Thionville, Sedan, and Montmedy, at the same time, harassed and cut off their convoys, which arrived but slowly in conse-

quence of the circuit they were obliged to take by Grandprey, Longwy, and Verdun. The autumn, which was now far advanced, also happened to be wet and cold; diseases were generated; the roads became nearly impracticable, and it was at length almost equally difficult either to advance or retire. The combined forces might indeed have marched either by Chalons or Rheims to Paris; but in that case they must have exposed their rear-guard to the danger of being cut off at the passage of the Marne, and would assuredly have been followed by Dumouriez: however, in an attempt of this kind something was to be hazarded, and one fortunate battle might still have rendered them masters of the destiny of France. But neither the prudence of the duke of Brunswick, nor the policy of the Prussian cabinet, would permit the adoption of a plan, which although it might have restored the Bourbon race to the throne, in the event of success, would have shook the stability of the house of Brandenburgh in case of disaster. Similar considerations prevented the commander in chief of the combined army from risking a general attack on the French camp; in short a disgraceful retreat had now become inevitable, and a pretext was only wanting for that purpose.

Dumouriez on the other hand was equally aware of the superiority of his own position, and the critical and even desperate situation of the enemy. But a different opinion prevailed at Paris, whence he received couriers daily with injunctions to retreat. It was in vain he assured the members of the executive council that their uneasiness was ill timed, and that he would be answerable for the event: they well knew that he was destitute of experience as a commander, and, although his talents could no longer be doubted, they had reason to be suspicious of his principles, having already suffered by his perfidy while minister. In addition to these considerations, they had been lately deceived by him in respect to the camp of Grandprey, which he had represented as inexpugnable but a few days previously to his abandonment of it, in consequence of a gross and very culpable mistake.

The romantic hopes and extravagant projects of this general, instead of allaying, served only to increase their fears; for, although the combined forces were posted between him and the capital, and the immediate communication with his own magazines cut off, he asserted with great confidence that his Prussian majesty would not be able to penetrate further into Champagne; and that within the short space of ten days, his once-formidable army, consumed by hunger and disease, must be forced to retreat through the same defiles by which it had entered France. Not content with this prediction, which was speedily realised, he also assured them that he should have time to march to the succour of Lisle, now menaced by the duke of Saxe Teschen, and demanded by way of recompence for his services, that he might be permitted to make Brussels his head-quarters during the winter, as he intended to be there by the 15th of November!

But, although the troops of the allied courts had by this time experienced many of the disadvantages incident to an autumnal campaign—a wet season, a desert province, and an enemy's country—the general to whom was entrusted the security of the empire, was also exposed to some difficulties: by obstinately persisting in his original mode of defence, he subjected himself to personal responsibility for all the misfortunes that might ensue; most of the principal officers were of opinion that he ought to retire; Kellermann actually threatened to desert him, and even his own camp began to be menaced with famine. But the firmness of Dumouriez saved France. Had he yielded to the injunctions of his superiors, the advice of his colleague, or the voice of timidity, a tumultuous and disorderly retreat would have ensued; the enemy would have established themselves in a fruitful country, where they would have recovered from their fatigues; and a flying and dispirited army would have carried terror, discontent, and dismay along with it to the capital. Opposing, therefore the intrepidity of his character to the current of opinion, Dumouriez determined at the risk of his life to persevere; and in answer to a letter from Servan, the minister at war, stating that his obstinacy in remaining at St. Menehould was considered criminal, as the Hulans made

inroads to the very gates of Rheims, and laid waste all the country before them, he replied by means of the following note:

"I WILL not alter my plan on account of a few marauders. There are more than ten thousand men in Rheims, and the Hulans whom they suffer to ride up to the very walls of that city are by no means numerous: let them pursue and slay them."

As the direct road to Châlons, where his provisions were deposited, was now blocked up, he ordered his convoys to ascend along the left bank of the Marne to Vitry; he also caused new roads to be cut, and posted detachments to keep up the communication. But, notwithstanding all his care, the army which was sometimes two or three days without bread, began to murmur. On these occasions, in imitation of the generals of antiquity, he was accustomed to mingle with and appease the soldiery.

"THE famous marshal Saxe," said he, "has written a book on the art of war, in which he maintains that the regular delivery of provisions to the troops should be discontinued at least once a-week in order to make them less sensible of such a privation in case of necessity. As for us!" he would exclaim, "we have not half so much reason to complain as these Prussians encamped within our sight, who are sometimes destitute of bread for four days in succession, and reduced to the necessity of feeding on their dead horses.! You have plenty of hogs-lard, rice, and flour; make cakes with these, and liberty will give them a relish."

AT another time, when a convoy had been retarded, he assumed a severe air and cried out—

"WHICH are the bad citizens who are so cowardly as not to sustain hunger? Let them be stripped of their arms and uniforms, and instantly chased away. Such are not worthy of participating with us in the honour of saving our country! You cannot receive any bread before to-morrow; shew yourselves therefore capable of surmounting every thing. No more murmurs: Liberty for ever?" On this the whole camp began to shout—"Liberty for ever! Long live our father!"

Nor was the firmness of Dumouriez less conspicuous than his policy. Seven battalions of federates, after committing a variety of excesses at Châlons, had announced that they would not suffer epaulets, crosses, or embroidered uniforms in the army, and that the generals themselves should be forced to listen to their representations. No sooner did the commander in chief receive this intelligence, than he ordered them to encamp apart, with some squadrons of horse behind, and cannon in front. He then rode up to the head of their line, accompanied by the whole of his staff, and an escort of an hundred hussars; when, after surveying them with a stern aspect, he spoke as follows:

"You! whom I cannot term either citizens or soldiers, behold the artillery in your van, the cavalry in your rear. You have dishonoured yourselves by crimes; but know that I will not suffer assassins to remain in my camp, and that I have ordered you to be cut to pieces on the least appearance of mutiny. On the other hand, if you correct your errors, if you promise to conduct yourselves after the example of the brave army to which you have the honour to belong, you will find in me a father. I know there are bad men among you, who are instructed to instigate you to the commission of crimes: until you chase them away, or denounce them to me, I render you responsible for all their actions." These battalions, which he visited daily, behaved afterwards with great gallantry, and even displayed more patience than the other troops.

Finding that he now began to be popular among the soldiers, he passed the evenings with them around their fires, partook of their fare, explained his own position as well as that of the enemy; and, by way of encouraging them to perseverance, boldly foretold, that in the course of a few days they would behold those very Prussians seeking safety in retreat, who had threatened to overwhelm the capital of France with their vengeance.

While Dumouriez was thus occupied by turns in opposing the enemy, and soothing, reprimanding, and acquiring the confidence of his own troops, a great event had occurred at Paris, which produced a complete change in the nature

and form of the government. At the very moment when the king of Prussia, at the head of an immense army, had driven the French from the camp of Grandprey, and Longwy and Verdun were in possession of the enemy, a national convention had assembled, royalty was abolished, and France declared a republic*.

This intelligence soon reached the camp of St. Menehould, and was immediately succeeded by three commissioners, who ordered the new oath of allegiance to be administered to the troops; and the commander in chief, even had he been otherwise inclined, was under the necessity of exhibiting a prompt obedience. The soldiery were already prepared for this event. Sillery, who had spent his youth in the army and attained the rank of major-general, was subtle and seductive; the veterans as well as the new levies were pleased to behold an old officer deputed to them, and heard him with reverence and attention. Carra, although a man of education, affected a popular eloquence both in his newspaper, which was read by all military men, and in his speeches, which were listened to with joy by the troops; his face also was well known in the camp, and he was personally acquainted with many of the privates and subalterns, whose cause he had frequently espoused. Prieur, bold, ardent, and burning with zeal, was a native of Champagne, the scene of the present contest, and which had furnished many of the regiments that composed the army. In short, the deputies had been selected on purpose to procure the accession of the army to the late decree of the convention; and their success did not

---

* National Convention.—*September* 21, 1792.

"The national assembly decrees, that royalty is abolished in France;

"That all public acts shall be dated—'The first year of the French republic;'

"That the seal of the state shall be changed, and have for legend 'French republic;'

"And, that the national seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it; on the exergue shall be engraved 'Archives of the French republic.'"

belie the expectations that had been conceived of them; for, being indignant at the supposed treachery of the king, and the presence of "a horde of foreign mercenaries," they consented with joy to pass from a monarchical to a republican form of government*.

Dumouriez, who had received the commissioners with open arms, profited greatly by their presence. He detailed all the advantages resulting from the formidable position now occupied by him, as well as the misfortunes likely to ensue in the event of a sudden retreat. He exhibited the prisoners and deserters brought daily into his camp, and, after ridiculing the terrors prevalent in Paris, he insisted on the immense benefit that had already accrued from the junction of Beurnonville and Kellermann, as well as the gallantry displayed by the troops during the cannonade of Valmy; and concluded by requesting their consent to retain his present station but one week longer, at the end of which period, if the enemy did not withdraw, he was ready to decamp from St. Menehould and cross the Marne.

CHAP. IX.

Interview between Dumouriez and Colonel Manstein—Agreement for an Exchange of Prisoners—The Emigrants are excepted—The King of Prussia assembles a Council of War—Preparations for a decisive Battle—His Majesty determines to retreat—Conduct of the French Nobility—Sufferings of the Prussians—Reflections.

Dumouriez was not mistaken in his conjectures. The Prussian monarch had already become tired of a war whence he could reap neither glory nor advantage, and began to wish for some pretext for withdrawing his army, the safety of which had now become precarious. It was with

* Mem. du Général Dumouriez, t. III.

this intention that he sent colonel Manstein, his adjutant-general to the French head-quarters, for the purpose of holding a conference with the commander in chief*, under colour of entering into an agreement about the mutual exchange of

---

* *Verbal Proposition by Manstein to Dumouriez.*

" MAKE him your king under the strictest limits that any king ever was placed. Do not content yourself with tying him up, like the king of England, to do nothing of himself—make him a king of Mahrattas—make him a stadtholder—make him the principal tax-gatherer in the country—give him only a place—that is all we ask—and then we shall have a pretext for retiring."

Account of a Conference between the French and Prussian Generals, previous to the Retreat of the Combined Armies.

[It was produced by a negociation for preventing the *vedettes* (centinels) of the two armies from firing upon each other, in which the Prussian generals found it necessary to call for the duke of Brunswick.]

" *The Duke of Brunswick.*—WHAT are your names, Gentlemen?

La Baroliere.—My name is Baroliere; that of my colleague Galbaud.

The Duke to Galbaud.—It is you who hath placed these cannon. They have done us some harm; and I confess, that I cannot conceive how you could have a design of bringing them so near to our redoubt.

Galbaud.—What you say proves the goodness of our operation. In truth, we are very near to you But our soldiers know no danger, when they labour for their country.

Brunswick.—General Kalkreuth has told me of your proposal, as to our giving up the wood; you must agree that there would be many more difficulties if I were less sparing of human blood. But before this arrangement is concluded, let us talk a little of your nation; I love it, and that I have proved more than once. I am sorry that Dumouriez, upon the subject of my last manifesto, has been so angry with some insignificant words that are found in it. Such expressions are for the people; informed persons know how to estimate them; and I am astonished that Dumouriez should treat them so seriously.

Galbaud.—Permit me to ask you, if the French people, become free, are not as capable of understanding the language of truth as general Dumouriez? Judge whether they could suffer that one of their generals, forgetting the respect owed to his sovereign, should hear any thing against the national sovereignty!

Brunswick.—I do not dispute the right of your nation to regulate its government; but, has it chosen the form which best suits its character? This is what is generally doubted in Europe; and certainly, when I came into France, I had no other intention than to restore order.

prisoners. After many compliments on both sides, it was finally resolved to discontinue skirmishing in front of their respective camps, and a suspension of arms accordingly took place in that direction.

Baroliere.—Permit me to ask you, what power has rendered you an intermediate between the French people and its interest? [At this instant, Galbaud perceived near him the *ci-devant* camp-marshal Klinglin, on horseback, in uniform, and with a white cockade. In his surprize, he cried out, "Ah! this is M. Klinglin!" The latter answered nothing. Kalkreuth whispered in the duke's ear, who contemptuously made a sign for Klinglin to retire, which he did.]

Brunswick.—You perceive how I treat the emigrants. I have never loved traitors. Do with them as you will; they are of little consequence to us. But I insist upon it that the French nation, when they know their interests better, will return to more moderate principles.

Baroliere.—I ask the duke of Brunswick, if it be the author of the manifesto who speaks? to him I can only answer with cannon shot. If, on the contrary, it is a friend of humanity who holds this language, to him I shall say, that the best proof he can give of his favourable disposition, is to evacuate the French territory, before our armies, who daily accumulate round him, shall force him to do so. We know that the Prussians are overcome by a variety of disorders; that they daily lose men and horses. In this state of things they cannot long resist, and I think it would be for their interest to spare an useless effusion of blood. If you will treat for the cession of Verdun, I doubt not that the nation will grant whatever can be reconciled with its interests, and with the vengeance due for the violation of our territory.

Brunswick.—The French are an astonishing nation. Scarcely have they proclaimed the republic, but they assume the language of republicans. As to the rest, I can at present say nothing to you upon this subject, or upon that which has brought me to you; I must speak to the king. Let us agree to suspend hostilities between our *vedettes* for twenty-four hours; let every thing remain *in statu quo*. General Kalkreuth shall come to you to-morrow; he is in the king's confidence, and will confer either with general Dumouriez, or with whomsoever he may appoint. I am happy to have become acquainted with you; as to general Galbaud, I see with pleasure an old officer of artillery. You have given by your battery a specimen of the talents of the ancient *corps royal*. Continue both to serve your country well; and believe me that, notwithstanding the tone of the manifestoes, one cannot help esteeming those who loyally endeavour to ensure the independence of their country.

DUMOURIEZ with his usual acuteness took advantage of this event, for he instantly dispatched orders to general Dubouquet, who was stationed at *Notre Dame de l'Epine* in the neighbourhood of Chalons, to march at the head of sixteen

---

Kalkreuth.—Permit, gentlemen, that, requiring your friendship, I may accompany you a few paces."

The French party, upon quitting the Prussians, cried "*Vive la Nation!*" Kalkreuth, astonished, enquired if he was safe. Galbaud answered, that French faith would guarantee him. At a few steps further, the generals parted.

This account is certified by the formal testimony and signature of general Galbaud.

Second Conference between the French and Prussian Generals.

[The following is the relation of a conference between the generals Dillon and Galbaud, and the Prussian general Kalkreuth, at Glorieux, on the 11th of October.]

"*Dillon.*—You know, general, the tenor of the summons which I have given, as one of the generals of the republic, to the Prussian commandant at Verdun. I ought to have a speedy anwser. It is full time that foreign armies should evacuate our territory. This measure is a necessary preamble to every accommodation; it is a result of the deliberation of the executive council of the republic, sanctioned by the national council.

Kalkreuth.—I have no particular mission; but, having professed at all times a high esteem for the French people, I shall deem myself very happy by concurring in an accommodation equally advantageous to the two nations. I know that the king is very much disposed to hear all honourable propositions.

Dillon.—You are not ignorant that the French have always esteemed the Prussians, that they have always blamed the monstrous treaty of 1756; but then the people were slaves, and the arbitrary will of kings, often guided by the particular interests of the courtiers, regulated the destiny of nations. Let us pass over these politics; and may the two states, better acquainted with their own interests, unite against their common enemy. The French nation has not commenced the war with the view of conquest.

Kalkreuth.—Doubtless there is nothing more noble than this declaration; but what security can France give for her perseverance in that system?

Dillon.—Her interest, and the frankness which should serve as the base of every republican government. Let the king of Prussia reflect upon this, and he will regret having shed the blood, and dissipated the treasures of his people, especially since his true policy was to unite with us, and humble the house of Austria; but, since I also have no particular mission, I repeat to you, that, before we treat of such great interests, the Prussian armies must evacuate the French territory.

battalions of infantry and two squadrons of dragoons to Fresne near Sommievre, while general Després-Crassier was to advance with two thousand foot and a thousand horse to Espense and Noirlieu. He also dispatched eighteen squadrons

---

Kalkreuth.—The summons you have given is liable to much observation. You dictate laws, and yet you have not gained a battle. Our combined armies are as strong as yours: you have Verdun; but if we had persevered in guarding it, you would not have obtained it without a victory. I hope that our conduct in giving you up the place, will prove to you the desire of the king to arrange all disputes with France.

Dillon.—This affair being terminated, there remains another no less important; the surrender of Longwy. The king of Prussia, by giving up that place immediately, may prove his desire of an accommodation with the republic; and I will not conceal from you that we can march two hundred thousand men there, if it is necessary.

Kalkreuth.—Longwy is not occupied by the king's troops, so that the business does not directly concern him. What he can do is to promise that he will not assist in its defence; I even think myself able to assure you, that his troops will take no part in it.

Dillon.—This assurance is not sufficient. It is necessary that the king should use his influence for the evacuation of that fortress without the effusion of blood.

Kalkreuth.—I have no power to treat. This conference can be only considered as confidential; but I am persuaded that it would not be difficult to induce the surrender of Longwy as easily as that of Verdun.

Dillon.—The king of Prussia may give a convincing proof of his disposition towards us, by separating his armies entirely from those of his allies, and ceasing to protect their retreat.

Kalkreuth—You know that when travellers have promised to make a journey together, honour obliges them to go through it. It is not however necessary that they should commence another. I take my leave, full of esteem for the French nation and for you. I shall report our conversation to the king, and I doubt not of happy measures.

Dillon.—Adieu, general; I hope that there will be no campaign next season, unless France and Prussia are united, and that you will assist in liberating the Low-countries. Remind the king of Prussia that he cannot have a more glorious alliance than with a free people.

Kalkreuth.—Rely upon me, and believe that no person estimates higher the immense advantages of such an alliance. I should rejoice to go to Paris myself to negociate it."

M. M. Dillon and Galbaud have certified this conference with their names.

of light horse under Trecheville, towards Sommievre, Herpont, and Moyon, on purpose to occupy the attention of the right flank of the combined army; and he repeated his injunctions to lieutenant-general d'Harville to proceed to Pont-Fauergues, and even as far as St. Hilary.

As the Prussians by the armistice in the van sacrificed the emigrants who had advanced in flank, the latter were forced by these movements to fall back from Suieppe, which they had reached, towards Croix-en-Champagne, where they already began to anticipate the fate that was preparing for them. But this was not all; for colonel Trecheville, at the head of a body of horse, advanced boldly in the rear of the Prussians and obtained much booty; while general Neuilly, marching from Papavant with the light troops, took a circuit by the forest of Argonne on purpose to annoy the enemy's, left wing. Beurnonville's advanced guard at the same time penetrated by Marque across the forest to the old camp of Grandprey, and by cutting off the supplies of provisions, carried on a still more fatal and destructive species of warfare.

So adventurous had the French now become, that a single squadron of the hussars of Lauzun traversing the woods, in a part never before visited by cavalry, entered Buzancy and destroyed a convoy there, which they were unable to carry away, after making forty-seven horsemen belonging to the escort prisoners.

Colonel Manstein having about the same time repaired to the head-quarters of Dumouriez, a treaty took place relative to the exchange of prisoners; but it extended only to the Prussian, Austrian, and Hessian troops, for the unfortunate exiles were excluded from any participation in this cartel, and that too by the express consent of the very monarch who pretended to have invaded France for the sole purpose of restoring the king to his throne, and the nobles to their estates. Such a flagrant dereliction of an ally, so gross a violation of faith with confederates, in some measure sanctions the suspicions entertained by the French nation, as well as by many of the best statesmen in Europe, relative to the purity of the motives by which the combined powers were actuated.

The unhappy emigrants being now considered as rebels, in consequence of this concession, the Prussian adjutant-general assured Dumouriez that his majesty was no longer desirous of continuing the war against France, that he did not wish to intermeddle either in respect to her constitution or government, but merely expected that the king should be liberated from his confinement, and his authority restored in the same manner as it existed previously to the 10th of August.

In reply to these propositions, which were unnecessary before the combined forces entered France, but had become impracticable in consequence of their aggression, the general presented colonel Manstein with the official documents just received from Paris, by which it appeared that the national assembly had been changed for a national convention, and the monarchy converted into a republic!

In the mean time the utmost cordiality took place between the advanced posts of the two armies. Dumouriez presented the king of Prussia with coffee, sugar, fruit, and wheaten bread, which he knew the monarch to be in want of, while the troops divided their rations of provisions with the enemy who were dying of hunger and exposed to the ravages of the dysentery.

Colonel Thouvenot, according to instructions, repaired next day to the head-quarters at Hans in the rear of the camp of La Lune, where he was well received by the duke of Brunswick; and the French general, wishing to take advantage of these friendly dispositions, with his usual readiness and ability drew up a memorial*, in which he threw the

---

* *Memorial to the King of Prussia.—Sept.* 26, 1792.

"The French nation has undoubtedly decided its fate, and foreign powers cannot refuse to acknowledge the truth of this assertion. They no longer see the national assembly, whose powers were confined; whose acts required to be either confirmed or abrogated, to have the force of laws; who possessed only a contested authority, which might have been considered as usurped; and who had the wisdom to appeal to the whole nation, and to request of themselves the eighty-three departments to put an end to their existence, and to supply their place by a representation invested

whole blame of the war on the house of Austria, and endeavoured to persuade the king of Prussia that it was his interest to detach himself from an alliance at once unnatural and

---

with all the powers and complete sovereignty of the French people authorised by the constitution itself, under the name of the National Convention.

" This assembly, the first day of its sitting, actuated by a spontaneous movement, which is the same throughout the whole empire, decreed the abolition of royalty. The decree was every where received with great joy; it was every where expected with the utmost impatience; it every where augments the energy of the people; and at present it would be impossible to make the nation re-establish a throne overturned by the crimes which surrounded it. France then must necessarily be considered as a republic, since the whole nation has declared the abolition of monarchy. This republic must either be acknowledged or combated.

" The powers armed against France had not any right to intermeddle in the debates of the National Assembly respecting the form of its government. No power has a legitimate pretext to impose laws on so great a nation; they however resolved to employ the right of the strongest.—But what has been the result?—The nation has been more incensed; they have opposed force to force, and certainly the advantages which the numerous troops of the king of Prussia and his allies have gained are of very little consequence. The resistance which he meets with, and which increases as he advances, is too great not to prove that the conquest of France, represented to him as very easy is absolutely impossible. Whatever difference of principle may exist between the respectable monarch who has been misled, and the French people, neither he nor his generals can any longer consider that people, or the armies which oppose him, as a collection of rebels.

" The rebels are those infatuated nobles, who, after having so long oppressed the nation in the name of monarchs, whose throne they themselves shook, have compleated the disgrace of Louis XVI. by taking up arms against their own country, by filling Europe with their falshoods and their calumnies, and by becoming, in consequence of a conduct as foolish as it is criminal, the most dangerous enemies of Louis XVI. and of their country. I myself have often heard Louis XVI. lament their crimes and their chimeras.

" I shall leave the king of Prussia and his whole army to judge of the conduct of these dangerous rebels.—Are they esteemed or despised? I do not require an answer to that question; I already know it: yet these men are suffered to remain in the Prussian army, and to form the advanced guard of it, with a small number of Austrians, as barbarous as themselves.

" Let us now come to the Austrians. Since the fatal treaty of 1756, France, after sacrificing its natural allies, became a prey to

disadvantageous. But these remarks appear to have been disagreeable to his majesty, for an aide-de-camp was soon after dispatched by the commander in chief, with a manifesto couched in the same haughty tone as his former proclamations. This production appeared so harsh and ill-timed to

---

the ambition of the court of Vienna. All our treasures scarcely served to satiate the avarice of the Austrians. In the beginning therefore of our revolution—at the opening of the national assembly, under the name of the States-General, the intrigues of the court of Vienna were multiplied to deceive the nation respecting its real interests; to mislead an unfortunate king, surrounded by bad advisers, and lastly to render him perjured.

"It is the court of Vienna that has occasioned the downfal of Louis XVI. What has been done by that court, the crooked politics of which are too subtle to display a bold and open conduct? It represented the French as monsters, while both it and the criminal emigrants paid emissaries and conspirators, and kept up by every possible means the most frightful discord.

"This power, more formidable to its allies than its enemies, has engaged us in a war against a great king, whom we esteem; against a nation which we love and which loves us. This perversion of all political and moral principles cannot long continue.

"The king of Prussia will one day know the crimes of Austria, of which we have proofs, and will abandon it to our vengeance. I can declare to the whole world, that the armies united against the forces which now invade us cannot be induced to look upon the Prussians as their enemies, nor the king of Prussia as the instrument of the perfidy and vengeance of the Austrians and the emigrants. They entertain a nobler idea of that courageous nation, and of a king whom they wish to consider a just and an honest man.

"The monarch, say they, cannot abandon his allies—Are they worthy of him? Has a man who has associated with robbers a right to say that he cannot quit their society? He cannot it is said break his alliance—Upon what is it founded?—On perfidy and projects of invasion.

"Such are the principles upon which the king of Prussia and the French nation ought to reason, in order to understand each other.

"The Prussians love royalty, because since the great elector they have had good kings, and because he who now conducts them is doubtless worthy of their affection.

"The French have abolished royalty, because since the immortal Henry IV. they have always had weak, proud, or timid kings, governed by mistresses, confessors, insolent or ignorant ministers, base and abject courtiers, who have afflicted, with every kind of calamity, the most beautiful empire in the universe.

Dumouriez, that he spoke to the officer to whose care it had been entrusted as follows:

" Sir, I took the liberty to transmit a memorial to the king of Prussia, but I did not address myself to the duke of

---

" The king of Prussia has too pure a soul not to be struck with these truths. I present them to him for the interest of his own glory, and above all for the interest of two magnanimous nations, the happiness or misery of which he can secure by one word; for it is certain that his arms will be resisted, and that no power can subdue France. I shudder when I think on the dreadful misfortune of seeing our plains strewed with dead bodies, from a vain idea of a point of honour, for which the king himself will one day blush, when he sees his army and his treasure sacrificed to a system of perfidy and ambition, in which he has no share, and to which he is rendered the dupe.

" In the same degree that the French nation, become a republic, is violent and capable of making every effort against its enemies, in the same degree it is generous and affectionate towards its friends. Incapable of bending its head before armed men, it will give every succour, and even expend its blood for a generous ally: and if ever there was an epoch when the affection of a people could be depended on, it is that when the general will forms the invariable principles of a government; it is that when treaties are no longer subjected to the insidious politics of ministers and courtiers. If the king of Prussia will consent to negociate with the French nation, it will become a generous, powerful, and unchangeable ally; but if the illusion of a point of honour shall continue to prevail over his virtues, his humanity, and his real interests, he will then find enemies worthy of him, who will combat him with regret, but combat to the utmost, and who will be continually succeeded by avengers, whose number daily increases, and whom no human efforts will prevent from living or dying free.

" Is it possible that the king of Prussia, contrary to the rules of true policy, immutable justice, and humanity, should consent to be the instrument of the will of the perfidious court of Vienna; should sacrifice his brave army and his treasures to the ambition of that court, which, in a war it has been directed to undertake, has the finesse to expose its allies, and to furnish only a small contingency, while it alone, were it brave and generous, ought to support the whole burden? The king of Prussia at present can act the noblest part that any king ever acted. His operations alone have been attended with success; he took two towns; but this success was owing to treachery and cowardice. Since that he has found free and brave men, from whom he cannot withhold his esteem. He will still find a greater number; for the army which stops his march increases every day; it is in excellent discipline, and animated by the same spirit. It has been freed from traitors and cowards, who might

Brunswick, who undoubtedly mistakes a French commander in chief for a burgo-master of Amsterdam: tell him, that the truce ceases from this moment, and that I have given orders for that purpose in your presence."

---

have excited an idea that France could be easily conquered; and instead of defending, it will soon attack, unless a reasonable negociation make a distinction between the king and his troops, whom we esteem, and the Austrians and the emigrants, whom we despise. It is time that an open and sincere explanation should terminate our discussions, or confirm them, and enable us to know our real enemies. We will combat them with courage: we are upon our own soil; we have to avenge the excesses committed in our country; and it may be readily believed that a war against republicans proud of their liberty must be a bloody war, which can never end but with the entire destruction of the oppressors or the oppressed.

"This dreadful reflection ought to agitate the heart of a just and humane prince. He ought to consider that instead of protecting by his arms Louis XVI. and his family, the more he continues our enemy, the more he will aggravate their calamities.

"I hope, for my part, that the king, whose virtues I respect, and who has shewn me marks of esteem which do me honour, will be pleased to read with attention this note, dictated by the love of humanity and of my country. He will pardon the hurry and incorrectness of the style of these truths from an old soldier, occupied still more essentially with military operations, which must decide the fate of the war.

(Signed) "DUMOURIEZ,
"Commander of the army of the North."

Memorial of the Duke of Brunswick.

"WHEN their majesties, the emperor and the king of Prussia, in entrusting me with the command of the armies which these two allied sovereigns caused to march into France, rendered me the organ of their intentions, published in the two declarations of the 25th and 27th of July, 1792, their majesties were far from supposing that such scenes of horror could take place, as those which preceded and paved the way for the imprisonment of their majesties the king and queen of France, and the royal family. Such crimes, an example of which can scarcely be found in the history of less polished nations, were not the utmost boundary which the audacity of some factious men, who had rendered the people of Paris the blind instruments of their wills, prescribed to their criminal ambition. The suspension of the king, and of all the functions which had been reserved to him by that very constitution which has so long been declared to be the will of the whole nation, was the last crime of the national assembly, which brought upon France the two terrible scourges of war and anarchy. There is one step more only to

The necessary preparations were accordingly made, and the army rejoiced greatly at the event, for they began to be jealous of the frequent communications that took place between their general and the Prussians.

The conferences having been thus broken off, the situation of the grand army became every moment more critical, but it might still have been relieved from its embarrassments by a victory, and a council of war was accordingly held for

---

be taken in order to perpetuate them ; and the spirit of infatuation, the fatal forerunner of the fall of empires, will soon precipitate those who assume to themselves the title of deputies chosen by the nation to secure its rights and its happiness upon the most solid basis. The first decree which their assembly passed was the abolition of royalty in France ; and a small number of individuals, some of whom were foreigners, assumed to themselves the right of balancing the opinion of fourteen generations, who have filled the fourteen centuries of the existence of the French monarchy. This step, at which the real enemies of France ought to rejoice, if they could suppose that it would have a lasting effect, is directly opposite to the firm resolution which their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia have taken, and from which these two allied sovereigns will never depart, of restoring to his most christian majesty liberty, safety, and royal dignity, or of exercising just and exemplary vengeance against those who shall any longer dare to infringe them.

" For these reasons the undersigned declares to the French nation in general, and to each individual in particular, that their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, invariably attached to the principle of not intermeddling with the interior government of France, nevertheless persist in requiring that his most christian majesty, as well as the whole royal family, shall be immediately set at liberty by those who detain them prisoners.

" Their majesties insist also, that the royal dignity in France shall be immediately re-established in the person of Louis XVI. and of his successors ; and that such measures may be pursued as may secure that dignity from insults similar to those to which it has been lately exposed. If the French nation has not entirely lost sight of its true interests, and if, free in its resolutions, it wishes to put a speedy end to the calamities of a war, which subject so many provinces to all the evils that follow in the train of armies, it will not delay a moment to declare its opinion in favour of the peremptory demand I now address to it in the name of their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia ; and which, if refused, will immediately bring upon a once flourishing kingdom new and more terrible disasters.

the purpose of deciding on the propriety of giving battle. Thirteen generals were assembled upon this occasion, and the duke of Brunswick is said to have contented himself with briefly recapitulating the state of his own forces and that of the French. The marshal de Castries, after a short, preface, declared it to be his opinion that an immediate action should take place, which was instantly assented to, and the order of attack actually agreed upon. General Clairfait with the Austrians was to assail the enemy's right flank commanded by Dumouriez; the Prussians were to march at the same time against Kellermann, while the emigrants headed by the count d'Artois in person were to carry the redoubts*.

Frederick-William II. having thus agreed to hazard the event of a battle in express opposition to the private opinion of the commander in chief, the necessary instructions were accordingly issued for that purpose; but after the combined army had been drawn out and the signal for action was expected with impatience, the fickle monarch with his usual irresolution commanded the troops to retire†.

As it was not now judged advisable either to advance or risk a general action, and the daily havoc of famine and disease increased in the allied camp, proper precautions were adopted to withdraw the troops as soon as possible from this

---

"The course which the French nation may adopt in consequence of this declaration, will either extend and perpetuate the fatal effects of an unhappy war, by destroying, in the suppression of royalty, the means of re-establishing and maintaining the ancient connections between France and the sovereigns of Europe—or will open negociations for the establishment of peace, order, and tranquillity, which those who assume to themselves the title of depositaries of the will of the nation are the most interested to restore as speedily as they are necessary to that kingdom.

(Signed)

"C. F. G. Duke of Brunswick Lunenbourg."

"Head-quarters-general, at Flans in Champagne, Sept. 28, 1792."

* Histoire Philosophique de la Révolution de France, t. II. p. 228.

† Tableau Historique & Politique de l'Europe, par Segur, ex-embassadeur. 2d edition, t. II.

scene of death and desolation. But no sooner did the gallant French nobles commanded by the marshals de Broglio and Castries receive intelligence that this humiliating measure was determined upon, than they were reduced to despair. They had supported incessant fatigue and continual disgust without murmur, in the hope of at length fighting a decisive engagement, on the success of which they placed the most implicit reliance. Their surprise was extreme when they heard of a retreat, in consequence of which they would be devoted to misery, opprobrium, and death. A number of the chiefs being suddenly convoked at the head-quarters in the castle of Vouziers, the count d'Artois was accordingly deputed by them to wait on the king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick, in order to represent their critical situation. The brother of Louis XVI. whose representations are said to have been also supported by those of general Clairfait, supplicated these august personages in the first place to abjure so fatal a resolution; on this his royal highness was informed in reply, that the allies had been grossly deceived by the representations of the emigrants, and that it was no longer prudent to persevere. The count then requested that the Austrians and French alone might be permitted to march against and attack the enemy; but this favour was also denied, and from that moment the cause of these titled exiles became hopeless!

In the mean time the troops who had threatened to avenge the cause of sovereigns, to restore the dispossessed nobles, to rebuild the violated altars, and to reinstate the deposed monarch, were obliged to take advantage of the night in order to conceal their flight and ensure their own safety. The camp of La Lune was accordingly abandoned late in the evening, and in the course of the succeeding morning the main body fell back about a league, the artillery and heavy baggage having been sent off before. On receiving this intelligence, Dumouriez immediately sent a courier to the minister at war*,

* *Copy of a Letter from General Dumouriez to the Minister at War.*

"My dear Servan,

"The Prussians are in full retreat; the brave Beurnonville, who

and dispatched general Dampierre with a brigade of infantry; the latter found the ground lately occupied by the Prussians strewed with the carcases of men and horses, while the ditches were so full of blood that many of the sick had fallen into them and actually perished there. Such a position as this became untenable, on account of the infection arising from epidemic maladies, and it was accordingly relinquished by the French.

In the mean time a *corps* under general d'Harville was ordered to push forward to Chêne-populeux, on purpose to fall on the rear-guard of the emigrants, who were expected to retreat through that pass, while general Miaczinski was to advance on the side of Tannay and harass the unhappy fugitives in their flight towards Stenay or Mouzon. Chazot was instructed to hang on the rear of such of the Prussian columns as might take the road to Longwy; Stengel, and Frecheville, were to annoy them on the side of Condé, and Dillon on the path leading to Verdun; while Valence with a powerful body of carabineers, cavalry, grenadiers, and chasseurs, was intended to overwhelm all opposition.

But, whether from the orderly retreat of the Prussians, the disputes between Kellermann and Dumouriez, or a secret agreement on the part of the latter, certain it is, that the

---

has been christened the 'French Ajax,' has taken within these two days from them above four hundred men, more than fifty waggons, and above two hundred horses. By what we can learn from the prisoners and deserters, their army is wasted by fatigue, famine, and the bloody flux. The enemy march always by night, only going one or two leagues during the day-time to cover their baggage and artillery.

"I have reinforced Beurnonville, who has above twenty thousand men, and who will not rest until he has exterminated them. This day I shall join and assist him. I have sent you copies of my correspondence with the enemy, which I have caused to be printed that no suspicion may arise.

"I hope, if the troops have any confidence in me, to winter at Brussels. Assure the august assembly of the sovereign people that I will not rest until I have rendered the tyrants incapable of doing us any further mischief.

"Dumouriez."

grand army effected its escape without experiencing so many difficulties as might have been expected. The French commander in chief, instead of attending to the pursuit of the enemy, spent the whole of the first day in his camp; the two next were consumed in negociations with his colleague, whose conduct he loudly censures, and he himself did not put his own troops in motion until the 6th of October.

In the mean time the detachment under Valence advanced and seized on some baggage and a few stragglers, while the light troops headed by Beurnonville entered Grandprey and took some prisoners, but they permitted the sick to retire unmolested, in consequence of the danger of contagion: of these miserable wretches, the unhappy victims of ambition, many perished by disease and hunger in the woods. The route of the retreating army might be traced by the carcases of the men and horses that were scattered along the road, as well as by the famished and enfeebled aspect of their surviving companions, whose ghastly countenances bespoke their impending fate. Had Dumouriez come up with the main body, while the other generals attacked the enemy in flank, there can be but little doubt that the forces of the king of Prussia would have been annihilated; but they were permitted to retreat in safety, and left to struggle with disease rather than the sword.

It happened otherwise with the unfortunate emigrants, for general Miaczinski, who lay in ambush with some light troops and artillery near Tannay, after surprising and putting them to flight, took part of their baggage. About the same time Frederick-William II. purchased the safety of one of his detachments by the cession of Verdun; Longwy surrendered by capitulation* on the 22d of October, while Kel-

---

* *Au Camp de Martin-Fontaine, le 18e Octobre*, 1792.

Sa majesté le roi de Prusse étant résolu de faire évacuer la ville et forteresse de Longwy, la presente convention a été arrêtée entre nous soussignés, le citoyen François-Cyrus Valence, lieutenant-général des armées de la republique. et le comte de Kalkreuth, lieutenant-général de sa majesté le roi de Prusse, pleinement autorisés à cet effet.

lermann appeared rather to conduct than pursue the Prussians out of the territories of the republic.

But, on the other hand, the Austrians were repeatedly attacked by general Dillon, and both the victors and the vanquished seem to have exhausted their wrath on the unhappy nobles. Instead of being detached in front, they were frequently employed in the rear-guard. The aged, the wounded, and the infirm, unable to keep up with the main body of the combined army, fell into the hands of their own countrymen and were shot, while the Prussian hussars pillaged their baggage with the most unparalleled cruelty and insolence*. It is impossible to consider the fate of these gallant exiles without pity; nor can the time and manner in which they were abandoned, be contemplated without the most lively indignation!

On the whole, the retreat of the Prussians from Champagne was effected with the utmost difficulty, and it is extremely probable, notwithstanding the acknowledged talents of the duke of Brunswick and the bravery and perseverance displayed on this occasion by the king of Prussia himself, that if the whole French army had proceeded in pursuit, while Cus-

---

Art. I. La porte de France de la forteresse de Longwy sera remise aux troupes Françaises le 22e du courant, la ville totalement évacuée 24 heures après.

II. Toute l'artillerie et les magasins seront remis dans l'état où ils etaient lors de la reddition de la place, à l'officier désigné par le général Kellermann pour la recevoir.

III. Pour les malades et effets, il en sera agi comme à l'évacuation de Verdun.

IV. Le général Kalkreuth enverra un officier pour prévenir de la sortie des troupes, afin d'éviter tout accident, dès qu'elles auront achevé de passer la porte de Bourgogne.

V. Si par hasard il arrivait quelque événant imprévu, cela ne changera rien aux précédens articles de la capitulation. Les coupables seront punis, et la convention exécutée.

VI. Pour donner plus d'authenticité à la présente convention, elle sera scellée du cachet du peuple Française, et de celui de sa majesté le roi de Prusse.

(Signé, etc.) Valence, Lt. G.
Kalkreuth, Lt. G.

* See "Précis Historique, par Lacretelle," t. I. p. 444.

tine advanced on the side of Coblentz, they would have been reduced to the necessity of capitulating*. The distance from the camp of La Lune to Luxemburg does not exceed twenty-eight leagues, yet no less than three whole weeks were consumed in the route. As part of the way led through a marshy country, and the roads were broken up by the rains, while the neighbouring rivers overflowed their banks, but little progress could be made; accordingly the troops often marched from break of day until night, without advancing more than five or six miles. The whole army was literally *stuck fast in the mud* during a week, before the village of Grandprey; and in order to save the artillery it became necessary to cut down part of the neighbouring forests, and by placing the trees side by side a new road was constructed, with infinite toil, for the cannon and baggage.

In the mean time the generals Stengel, Beurnonville, Galbaud, and Chazot, although at too great a distance to produce any considerable effect, hung upon their flanks and rear, cut off the stragglers, and destroyed all the forage and provisions they could find in the neighbourhood. Valence, on being nominated to succeed Arthur Dillon, attacked and carried several of their posts, and obliged them to agree to the surrender of Longwy and the evacuation of Verdun before he would consent to an armistice†.

---

* It appears pretty evident, notwithstanding the express denial of Dumouriez in the three volumes of Memoirs written some time after he had fled from France, that a secret convention actually took place between him and the king of Prussia; in consequence of which it was stipulated, that the latter should be permitted to retreat with as few obstacles as the necessary appearances of hostility would permit, provided the court of Berlin undertook to separate its interests from those of the coalition. On the other hand it seems to have been expected, that the French confining their operations to the Austrian Low-countries, should no longer harass Germany with incursions.

But this treaty was never ratified by the executive council, as the efforts of Custine, whose unexpected successes had dazzled the minds of the people, would have been thereby rendered abortive.

† This armistice is so far memorable, as it afforded the first opportunity of recognising the republic, by the admission of the following article:

At length the Prussian army reached Austrian Flanders, reduced to the most deplorable state by famine and the dysentery, with the surviving soldiers entirely destitute of shoes, clothes and not unfrequently, even of arms. All the way from the heights of Hans to the fortress of Luxemburg was strewed with the wreck of the fugitives; the camp equipage was abandoned, and half of the cavalry either killed or rendered unfit for service.

Thus after the loss of upwards of twenty thousand Prussian and Austrian troops, the sacrifice of the French king, princes, and nobility, and the recognition of that very republic, which had been threatened with annihilation, ended this memorable campaign; in which, perhaps for the first time in the annals of mankind, the fate of a great empire was decided without a battle. A variety of obvious causes may be assigned for the failure of this expedition. The grand army took the field at too late a season of the year for effective operations; the indiscriminate vengeance of the allied courts, instead of dividing, united France; the house of Austria, in consequence of a recent war with the Turks, had been rendered unable to fulfil its engagements; while the increasing jealousies of ancient rivalship, and the secret and perhaps separate views of those princes who publicly professed to restore the mitre and the crown, perpetually intervened so as to prevent a cordial union. To these are to be added the difficulties of the original enterprise, the constitutional versatility of the hero of the league, the deficiency in respect to battering cannon, the prevalence of death and disease, the critical irruption of Custine into the empire, the steady patriotism of the republican troops, the immense superiority of the French artillery, the disaffection of the nation to the cause of the invaders, and the perseverance of Dumouriez, who not only selected excellent positions, but taught his raw soldiers to look the veteran legions of Germany in the face.

" Pour donner à la présente convention la plus grande authenticité, elle sera revêtue *du sceau du Peuple Feancais*, et de celui de S. M. le roi de Prusse."

On the other hand, the basest as well as the most generous motives have been urged with the most confident assurance. Some have not scrupled to assert that the king of Prussia was bribed with the crown jewels; while others have maintained, with an equal degree of improbability, that his majesty was arrested in his career of vengeance by a letter from Louis XVI. in which the captive monarch supplicated his forbearance, as the only ransom that would be accepted for his own existence and that of his illustrious family*.

The world has been long in possession of the ostensible causes which are said to have produced this unsuccessful irruption; but the secret motives and precise intent, luckily perhaps for the projectors, remain to this day undefined: the disastrous consequences that have resulted from it are, however, no longer equivocal. Such was the fatal impolicy of the original measure, that it involved in certain ruin all those whom it professed to save: it whetted the axe of the executioner, and prepared the scaffold for the unhappy king; it put an end to the reigning dynasty, converted monarchical France into a military commonwealth, and hath finally endangered not the repose alone but the independence of Europe. In the course of a single fortnight after the publication of the two celebrated declarations by the duke of Brunswick, Louis XVI. was not only suspended but imprisoned; and immediately after the treacherous surrender of Longwy and Verdun, royalty itself was abrogated and the republic proclaimed.

It was thus that the coalesced courts, by an imprudent attack, revolting manifestoes, and indiscriminate menaces, unintentionally contributed to bereave the monarch first of his liberty, and then of his life. Nor was this all; for the triumphant faction, driven to despair by the approach of a victorious and implacable enemy, not only planned and perpetrated the execrable massacres of September, but swore the destruction of the whole Capetian race. From this moment

---

* Histoire Philosophique de la Révolution de France, par Ant. Fantin-Desodoards, 4me edit. tome II. p. 228.

too the democracy of France, wielded by a coarse and irresistible arm, after demolishing the nobles, the dignified clergy, and the throne, was uplifted to crush all the surrounding states.

The retreat of the combined army also, while it demonstrated the power, tended not a little to flatter the vanity of the people. The soldiery, in conformity to the ruling passion of the nation, attributed this event less to famine than to fear; they began to fancy themselves heroes, and actually became so. The immense resources of the empire, aided by the genius of her generals, enabled France by degrees to cope with the numerous foes embattled against her, and the republic was at length powerful enough to realise the wildest speculations of the monarchy.

But while the consequences of this fatal enterprise are allowed on all sides to have been eminently disastrous, its flagrant miscarriage necessarily attaches blame either to the original project itself, or the measures by which it was afterwards attempted to be carried into effect.

It exhibited but little wisdom perhaps on the part of Frederick-William II. to engage in such a contest; and the credulity with which the romantic theories of the emigrants were at first listened to, and the cruel manner in which they themselves were afterwards abandoned, seem equally to subject the memory of that prince to reproach.

But in whatever point of view the invasion of France is to be contemplated, it appears to have been not a little censurable in respect to the manner in which it was conducted, as the operations neither exhibited the degree of celerity necessary to a sudden conquest, nor that happy discrimination which could alone have ensured success to a regular and scientific attack.

The moment that Dumouriez had been forced by his own misconduct to abandon the strong position at Grandprey and retire to St. Menehould, the combined forces might have marched directly to Châlons, where they would have obtained possession of all his magazines, and avoided the famine and diseases that awaited them in the deserts of Champagne. In that case also, the invading army would have occupied an

advanced position between the French troops and the capital, which it might have reached before them; and had a victory been necessary to sanction such a measure, instead of trifling away so much precious time in festivals at Verdun, the Prussians ought to have given battle before the junction of Kellermann and Beurnonville had rendered the event in some degree problematical.

But even then, perhaps, it was not too late for veteran soldiers and experienced generals to have overcome an inferior number of new levies headed by untried commanders: this however was not to be achieved by a few indecisive manœuvres and a distant cannonade, such as occurred at Valmy; for these infallibly serve to inure new troops to danger, and teach them at the same time to despise it.

On the other hand, had a more regular plan been adopted, as was at first intended, Sedan, Montmedy, and Thionville, ought to have been invested according to the rules of war, after which winter-quarters would have been obtained in Lorraine, and, if the confederates did not quarrel in the interval, the campaign might have been concluded in the ensuing spring. But while the original plan was conceived with vigour, the new measures, although rash in their own nature, were at the same time slow, languid, and inefficacious; and both the troops and treasure of the great Frederick were improvidently wasted in an expedition which reflected but little glory on his successor.

The nominal command of the grand army had undoubtedly been conferred on the greatest captain of his age; his opinions, however, were unceasingly counteracted by the projects of contending politicians, the intrigues of interested favourites, and the jealousies of rival princes. Had the duke of Brunswick been permitted to conduct the operations of the campaign without controul, that general perhaps would have effected for the Bourbons what Alberoni, the czar Peter the Great, Charles XII. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. attempted in vain to achieve for the Stuarts; but even in that case we should probably have beheld France dismembered by the victors, and the outrageous principles of an over-weening despotism inculcated and professed by every cabinet in Europe.